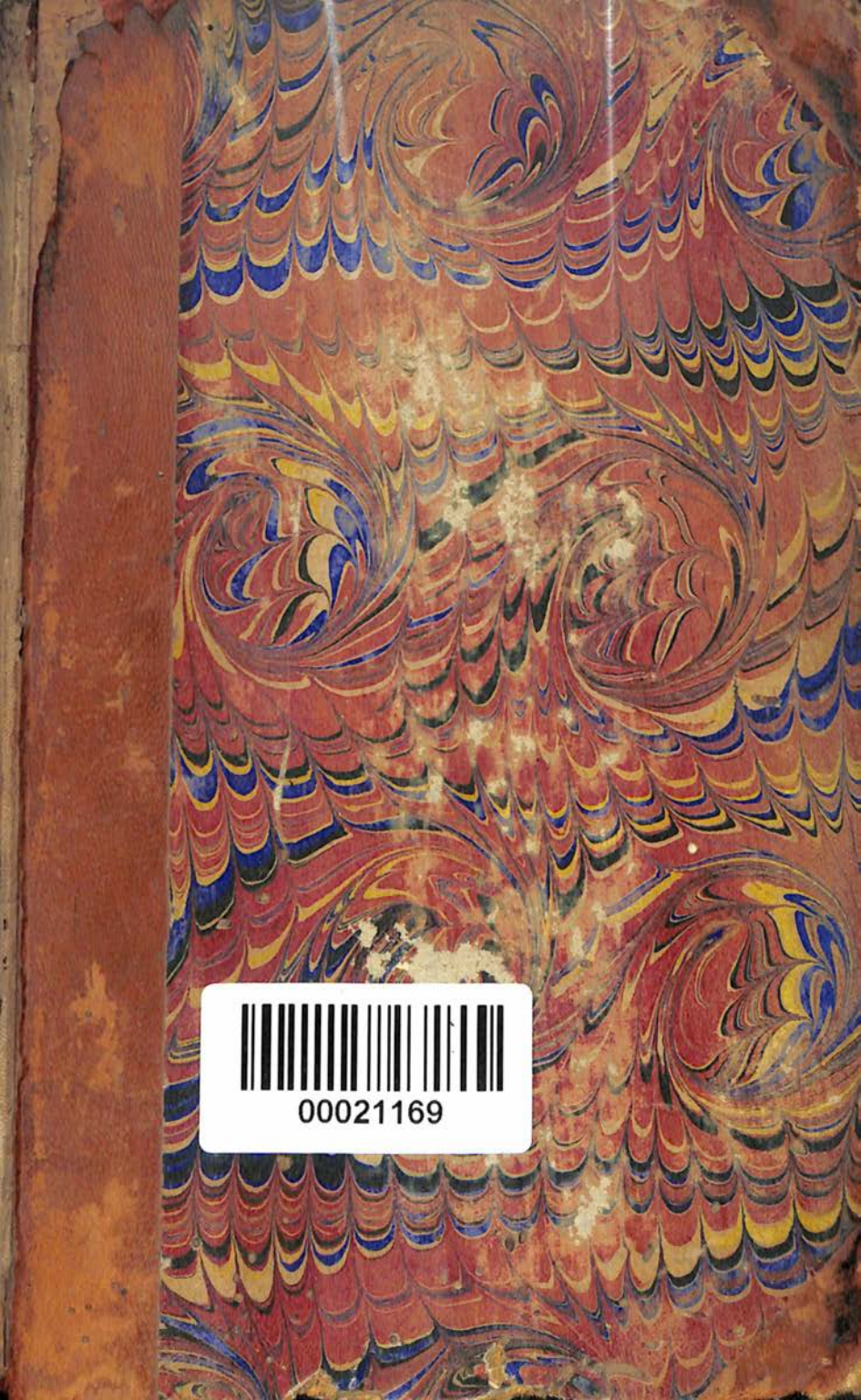
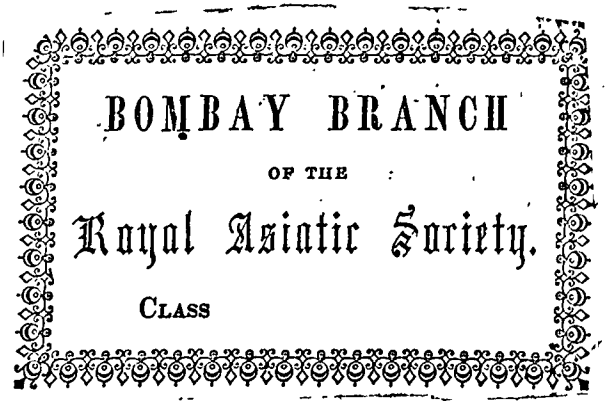

00021169



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 21 October, 2015

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D. F.R.S.E.

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,
AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY
FOR SCOTLAND.

[Read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh]

SECOND EDITION.

21169

LONDON:

Printed by A. Strahan, Printers Street,

FOR T. CADELL JUN. AND W. DAVIES IN THE STRAND,

AND E. BALFOUR, EDINBURGH.

1802.

21169

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE principal authorities for the biographical details in the following pages were communicated to me by Dr. Robertſon's eldeſt ſon, Mr. William Robertſon, Advocate. To him I am indebted, not only for the original letters with which he has enabled me to gratify the curioſity of my Readers, but for every other aid which he could be prompted to contribute, either by regard for his father's memory, or by friendſhip for myſelf.

My information with reſpect to the earlier part of Dr. Robertſon's life was derived almoſt entirely from one of his oldeſt and moſt valued friends, the Rev. Dr. Carlyle of Invereſk.

It

It is proper for me to add, that this Memoir was read at different meetings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and was deſtined for a place in their Tranſactions. The length to which it has extended, ſuggeſted the idea of a ſeparate publication, and the addition of an Appendix.

During the long interval which has elapſed ſince it was compoſed, a few ſentences have been occaſionally inſerted, in which a reference is made to later criticiſms on Dr. Robertſon's writings. I mention this circumſtance, in order to account for ſome ſlight anachroniſms.

DUGALD STEWART.

College of EDINBURGH,
16th May, 1801.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.

SECTION FIRST.

From Dr. ROBERTSON's *Birth till the Publication of his Hiſtory of Scotland.*

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D. late Principal of the Univerſity of Edinburgh, and Hiſtoriographer to his Majeſty for Scotland, was the ſon of the Reverend William Robertſon, Miniſter of the Old Gray-Friar's Church, and of Eleanor Pitcairn, daughter of David Pitcairn, Eſq. of Dreghorn. By his father he was deſcended from the Robertſons of Gladney in the county of Fife; a branch of the reſpect-

able family of the ſame name, which has, for many generations, poſſeſſed the eſtate of Struan in Perthſhire.

He was born in 1721, at Borthwick (in the county of Mid-Lothian), where his father was then Miniſter; and received the firſt rudiments of his education at the ſchool of Dalkeith, which, from the high reputation of Mr. Leſlie as a Teacher, was at that time reſorted to from all parts of Scotland. In 1733, he again joined his father's family on their removal to Edinburgh; and, towards the end of the ſame year, he entered on his courſe of academical ſtudy.

From this period till the year 1759, when, by the publication of his Scottiſh Hiſtory, he fixed a new æra in the literary annals of his country, the habits and occurrences of his life were ſuch as to ſupply few materials for Biography; and the imagination is left to fill up a long interval ſpent in the ſilent purſuit of letters, and enlivened by the ſecret anticipation of future eminence. His genius was not of that forward and irregular growth, which forces itſelf prema-

turely on public notice; and it was only a few intimate and diſcerning friends, who, in the native vigour of his powers, and in the patient culture by which he laboured to improve them, perceived the earneſts of a fame that was to laſt for ever.

The large proportion of Dr. Robertſon's life which he thus devoted to obſcurity will appear the more remarkable, when contraſted with his early and enthuſiaſtic love of ſtudy. Some of his oldeſt common-place books, ſtill in his ſon's poſſeſſion, (dated in the years 1735, 1736, and 1737,) bear marks of a perſevering aſſiduity, unexampled perhaps at ſo tender an age; and the motto prefixed to all of them, (*Vita ſine literis mors eſt*,) atteſts how ſoon thoſe views and ſentiments were formed, which, to his lateſt hour, continued to guide and to dignify his ambition. In times ſuch as the preſent, when literary diſtinction leads to other rewards, the labours of the ſtudious are often prompted by motives very different from the hope of fame, or the inſpiration of genius; but when Dr. Robertſon's career commenced, thoſe were the only incitements

which exiſted to animate his exertions. The trade of Authorſhip was unknown in Scotland; and the rank which that country had early acquired among the learned nations of Europe, had, for many years, been ſuſtained entirely by a ſmall number of eminent men, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an honourable and diſintereſted zeal in the ungainful walks of abſtract ſcience.

Some preſages, however, of better times were beginning to appear. The productions of Thomſon and of Mallet were already known and admired in the metropolis of England, and an impulſe had been given to the minds of the riſing generation, by the exertions of a few able and enlightened men, who filled important ſtations in the Scottiſh Univerſities. Dr. Hutcheſon of Glaſgow, by his excellent writings, and ſtill more by his eloquent lectures, had diffuſed, among a numerous race of pupils, a liberality of ſentiment, and a refinement of taſte, unknown before in this part of the iſland; and the influence of his example had extended, in no inconſiderable degree, to that ſeminary where

Dr.

Dr. Robertſon received his education. The Profeſſorſhip of Moral Philoſophy at Edinburgh was then held by Sir John Pringle, afterwards Preſident of the Royal Society of London; who, if he did not rival Dr. Hutcheſon's abilities, was not ſurpaſſed by him in the variety of his ſcientific attainments, or in a warm zeal for the encouragement of uſeful knowledge. His efforts were ably ſeconded by the learning and induſtry of Dr. Stevenſon, Profeſſor of Logic; to whoſe valuable prelections (particularly to his illuſtrations of Ariſtotle's Poetics and of Longinus on the Sublime) Dr. Robertſon has been often heard to ſay, that he conſidered himſelf as more deeply indebted, than to any other circumſtance in his academical ſtudies. The bent of his genius did not incline him to mathematical or phyſical purſuits, notwithſtanding the ſtrong recommendations they derived from the popular talents of Mr. Maclaurin; but he could not fail to receive advantage from the eloquence with which that illuſtrious man knew how to adorn the moſt abſtracted ſubjects, as well as from that correctneſs and purity in his

compoſitions, which ſtill entitle him to a high rank among our beſt writers, and which no Scottiſh author of the ſame period had been able to attain.

A number of other learned and reſpectable men, of whoſe names the greater part now exiſt in tradition only, were then reſident in Edinburgh. A club, or ſociety of * theſe, carried on for ſome years a private correſpondence with Dr. Berkeley, the celebrated Biſhop of Cloyne, on the ſubject of his metaphyſical publications; and are ſaid to have been numbered by him among the few who completely comprehended the ſcope of his reaſonings againſt the exiſtence of *matter*. The influence of this ſociety, in diffuſing that ſpirit of philoſophical reſearch which has ſince become ſo faſhionable in Scotland, has often been mentioned to me by thoſe who had the beſt opportunities of obſerving the riſe and progreſs of Scottiſh literature.

* Called the *Rankenian* Club, from the name of the perſon in whoſe tavern its meetings were held. The learned and ingenious Dr. Wallace, Author of the Diſſertation on the Numbers of Mankind, was one of the leading members.

I have

I have entered into theſe details, partly as they ſuggeſt ſome circumſtances which conſpired with Dr. Robertſon's natural inclination in fixing his ſtudious habits; and partly as they help to account for the ſudden tranſition which Scotland made, about this period, from the temporary obſcurity into which it had ſunk, to that ſtation which it has ſince maintained in the republic of letters. A great ſtock both of genius and of learning exiſted in the country; but the difficulty of overcoming the peculiarities of a provincial idiom, ſeemed to ſhut up every avenue to fame by means of the preſs, excepting in thoſe departments of ſcience, where the nature of the ſubject is ſuch as to diſpenſe with the graces of compoſition.

Dr. Robertſon's ambition was not to be checked by theſe obſtacles; and he appears, from a very early period of life, to have employed, with much perſeverance, the moſt effectual means for ſurmounting them. Among other expedients, he was accuſtomed to exerciſe himſelf in the practice of tranſlation; and he had even gone ſo far in the

cultivation of this very difficult art, as to have thought ſeriouſly of preparing for the preſs a verſion of *Marcus Antoninus*, when he was anticipated, by an anonymous publication at Glaſgow, in the execution of his deſign. In making choice of this Author, he was probably not a little influenced by that partiality with which (among the writings of the Heathen Moraliſts) he always regarded the remains of the Stoical Philoſophy.

Nor was his ambition limited to the attainment of the honours that reward the induſtry of the recluſe ſtudent. Anxious to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the utility of his labours in that profeſſion to which he had reſolved to devote his talents, and looking forward, it is probable, to the active ſhare he was afterwards to take in the Eccleſiaſtical Policy of Scotland, he aſpired to add to the art of claſſical compoſition, the powers of a perſuaſive and commanding ſpeaker. With this view, he united with ſome of his contemporaries, during the laſt years of his attendance at College, in the formation of a Society, where their object was to culti-

vate

vate the ſtudy of elocution, and to prepare themſelves, by the habits of extemporary diſcuſſion and debate, for conducting the buſineſs of popular aſſemblies. Fortunately for Dr. Robertſon, he had here aſſociates to contend with worthy of himſelf: among others, Dr. William M'Ghie, an ingenious young Phyſician, afterwards well-known in London; Mr. William Cleghorn, afterwards Profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy in Edinburgh; Dr. John Blair, late Prebendary of Weſtminſter; Dr. Wilkie, Author of the Epigoniad; and Mr. John Home, Author of the Tragedy of Douglas.

His ſtudies at the Univerſity being at length finiſhed, Dr. Robertſon was licenſed to preach by the Preſbytery of Dalkeith in 1741, and in 1743 he was preſented to the living of Gladſmuir in Eaſt Lothian by the Earl of Hopeton. The income was but inconſiderable (the whole emoluments not exceeding one hundred pounds a-year): but the preferment, ſuch as it was, came to him at a time ſingularly fortunate; for, not long afterwards, his father and mother died within a few hours of each other, leaving a family

a family of ſix daughters and a younger ſon, in ſuch circumſtances as required every aid which his ſlender funds enabled him to beſtow.

Dr. Robertſon's conduct in this trying ſituation, while it bore the moſt honourable teſtimony to the generoſity of his diſpoſitions, and to the warmth of his affections, was ſtrongly marked with that manly deciſion in his plans, and that perſevering ſteadineſs in their execution, which were characteriſtical features of his mind. Undeterred by the magnitude of a charge, which muſt have appeared fatal to the proſpects that had hitherto animated his ſtudies; and reſolved to ſacrifice to a ſacred duty all perſonal conſiderations, he invited his father's family to Gladſmuir, and continued to educate his ſiſters under his own roof, till they were ſettled reſpectably in the world. Nor did he think himſelf at liberty, till then, to complete an union, which had been long the object of his wiſhes, and which may be juſtly numbered among the moſt fortunate incidents of his life. He remained ſingle till 1751, when he married his

his couſin Miſs Mary Niſbet, daughter of the Reverend Mr. Niſbet, one of the Miniſters of Edinburgh.

While he was thus engaged in the diſcharge of thoſe pious offices which had devolved upon him by the ſudden death of his parents, the Rebellion of 1745 broke out in Scotland, and afforded him an opportunity of evincing the ſincerity of that zeal for the civil and religious liberties of his country, which he had imbibed with the firſt principles of his education; and which afterwards, at the diſtance of more than forty years, when he was called on to employ his eloquence in the national commemoration of the Revolution, ſeemed to rekindle the fires of his youth. His ſituation as a country Clergyman, confined, indeed, his patriotic exertions within a narrow ſphere; but even here, his conduct was guided by a mind ſuperior to the ſcene in which he acted. On one occaſion, (when the capital of Scotland was in danger of falling into the hands of the Rebels,) the ſtate of public affairs appeared ſo critical, that he thought himſelf juſtified in laying

laying aſide, for a time, the pacific habits of his profeſſion, and in quitting his parochial reſidence at Gladſmuir, to join the Volunteers of Edinburgh: and when, at laſt, it was determined that the city ſhould be ſurrendered, he was one of the ſmall band who repaired to Haddington, and offered their ſervices to the Commander of his Majeſty's forces.

The duties of his ſacred profeſſion were, in the mean time, diſcharged with a punctuality, which ſecured to him the veneration and attachment of his pariſhioners; while the eloquence and taſte that diſtinguiſhed him as a Preacher, drew the attention of the neighbouring Clergy, and prepared the way for that influence in the Church which he afterwards attained. A ſermon which he preached in the year 1755 before the Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge, and which was the earlieſt of all his publications, affords a ſufficient proof of the eminence he might have attained in that ſpecies of compoſition, if his genius had not inclined him more ſtrongly to other ſtudies. This ſermon, the only one

he

he ever publiſhed, has been long ranked, in both parts of the iſland, among the beſt models of pulpit eloquence in our language. It has undergone five editions; and is well known, in ſome parts of the Continent, in the German tranſlation of Mr. Ebeling.

A few years before this period, he made his firſt appearance in the debates of the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland. The queſtions which were then agitated in that place have long ceaſed to be intereſting; but they were highly important at the time, as they involved, not only the authority of the ſupreme court of eccleſiaſtical judicature, but the general tranquillity and good order of the country. The principles which Dr. Robertſon held on theſe ſubjects, and which have, for many years paſt, guided the policy of the Church, will again fall under our review, before the concluſion of this narrative. At preſent, it is ſufficient to mention, that in the Aſſembly of 1751, when he firſt ſubmitted them to public diſcuſſion, they were ſo contrary to the prevailing ideas, that, although he enforced them with extraordinary

dinary powers of argument and eloquence, and was moſt ably ſupported by the late Sir Gilbert Elliot and Mr. Andrew Pringle, (afterwards Lord Alemoor,) he was left in a very ſmall minority; the houſe dividing, two hundred againſt eleven. The year following, by a ſteady perſeverance in the ſame views, he had the ſatisfaction of bringing over a majority to his ſentiments, and gave a beginning to that ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical government which it was one of the great objects of his life to carry into effect, by the moſt vigorous and deciſive, though the moſt temperate and conciliatory meaſures. A paper which he drew up in the courſe of theſe proceedings, and which will be noticed in its proper place, explains the ground-work of the plan which he and his friends afterwards purſued.

The eſtabliſhment of the *Select Society* * in Edinburgh in the year 1754, opened another field for the diſplay and for the cultivation of his talents. This inſtitution, intended partly for philoſophical inquiry, and

* Appendix, Note A.

partly

partly for the improvement of the members in public ſpeaking, was projected by Mr. Allan Ramſay the painter, and a few of his friends; but ſoon attracted ſo much of the public notice, that in the following year the number of members exceeded a hundred, including all the individuals in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood who were moſt diſtinguiſhed by genius or by literary attainments. In the liſt of thoſe who united with Mr. Ramſay in the formation of this ſociety, we find the names of Dr. Robertſon, Mr. David Hume, Mr. Adam Smith, Mr. Wedderburn (now Lord Chancellor), Lord Kames, Mr. John Home, Dr. Carlyle, Mr. Andrew Stuart, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and Lord Alemoor. The ſociety ſubſiſted in vigour for ſix or ſeven years, and produced debates, ſuch as have not often been heard in modern aſſemblies;—debates, where the dignity of the ſpeakers was not lowered by the intrigues of policy, or the intemperance of faction; and where the moſt ſplendid talents that have ever adorned this country were rouſed to their beſt exertions, by the liberal and ennobling diſcuſſions of literature

ture and philoſophy. To this inſtitution, while it laſted, Dr. Robertſon contributed his moſt zealous ſupport; ſeldom omitting an opportunity of taking a ſhare in its buſineſs; and deriving from it an addition to his own fame, which may be eaſily conceived by thoſe who are acquainted with his ſubſequent writings, or who have witneſſed thoſe powers of argument and illuſtration which, in the eccleſiaſtical courts, he afterwards employed ſo ſucceſsfully, on ſubjects not ſo ſuſceptible of the embelliſhments of eloquence.

In theſe courts, indeed, during the very period when the Select Society was contributing ſo much to the fame and to the improvement of Scotland, there occurred one ſubject of debate, unconnected with the ordinary details of church-government, which afforded at once full ſcope to Dr. Robertſon's powers as a ſpeaker, and to a diſplay of that mild and conciliatory temper, which was afterwards, for a long courſe of years, ſo honourably employed, in healing the diviſions of a church torn with faction, and in ſmoothing the tranſition from

from the ſeverity of puritanical manners, to habits leſs at variance with the genius of the times. For this important and arduous taſk he was fitted in an eminent degree by the happy union he exhibited in his own character, of that exemplary decency which became his order, with all the qualities that form the charm and the ornament of ſocial life.—The occurrence to which I allude more particularly at preſent, was the flame kindled among the Scottiſh Clergy in the year 1757, by the publication of the Tragedy of Douglas, the Author of which, Mr. John Home, was then Miniſter of Athelſtonford. The extraordinary merits of this performance, which is now become to Scotchmen a ſubject of national pride, were not ſufficient to atone for ſo bold a departure from the auſterity expected in a Preſbyterian divine; and the offence was not a little exaſperated by the conduct of ſome of Mr. Home's brethren, who, partly from curioſity, and partly from a friendly wiſh to ſhare in the cenſure beſtowed on the Author, were led to witneſs the firſt repreſentation of the piece on the Edin-

burgh ſtage. In the whole courſe of the eccleſiaſtical proceedings connected with theſe incidents, Dr. Robertſon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ableſt and moſt animated exertions in defence of his friends; and contributed greatly, by his perſuaſive eloquence, to the mildneſs of that ſentence in which the proſecution at laſt terminated. His arguments on this occaſion had, it may be preſumed, the greater weight, that he had never himſelf entered within the walls of a playhouſe; a remarkable proof, among numberleſs others which the hiſtory of his life affords, of that ſcrupulous circumſpection in his private conduct, which, while it added ſo much to his uſefulneſs as a Clergyman, was eſſential to his influence as the leader of a party; and which ſo often enabled him to recommend ſucceſsfully to others, the ſame candid and indulgent ſpirit that was congenial to his own mind.

The flattering notice theſe exertions drew to him from the public, and the riſing influence he had already ſecured among his own order would have preſented to a temper leſs active and perſevering than his,

many

many ſeductions to interrupt his ſtudies. A conſiderable portion of his time appears, in fact, to have been devoted, during this period of his life, to the ſociety of his friends; but, as far as his ſituation enabled him to command it, it was to a ſociety which amply compenſated for its encroachment on his ſtudious leiſure, by what it added to the culture and enlargement of his mind. The improvement which, in theſe reſpects, he derived from the converſation of Patrick Lord Elibank, he often recollected in his more advanced years with peculiar pleaſure; and it affords no inconſiderable proof of the penetration of that lively and accompliſhed Nobleman, that long before the voice of the public could have given any direction to his attachments, he had ſelected as the companions of his ſocial hours, the Hiſtorian of Queen Mary, and the Author of the Tragedy of Douglas.

No ſeductions, however, could divert Dr. Robertſon from the earlieſt object of his ambition; and in the midſt of all his avocations, his ſtudies had been advancing with a gradual progreſs. In the ſpring of

the year which followed the debates about Mr. Home's Tragedy, he went to London to concert meaſures for the publication of his Hiſtory of Scotland:—a work of which the plan is ſaid to have been formed ſoon after his ſettlement at Gladſmuir. It was publiſhed on the firſt of February 1759, and was received by the world with ſuch unbounded applauſe, that before the end of that month, he was deſired by his bookſeller to prepare for a ſecond edition.

From this moment the complexion of his fortune was changed. After a long ſtruggle, in an obſcure though a happy and hoſpitable retreat, with a narrow income and an increaſing family, his proſpects brightened at once. He ſaw independence and affluence within his reach; and flattered himſelf with the idea of giving a ſtill bolder flight to his genius, when no longer depreſſed by thoſe tender anxieties which ſo often fall to the lot of men, whoſe purſuits and habits, while they heighten the endearments of domeſtic life, withdraw them from the paths of intereſt and ambition.

In

In venturing on a ſtep, the ſucceſs of which was to be ſo deciſive, not only with reſpect to his fame, but to his future comfort, it is not ſurpriſing that he ſhould have felt, in a more than common degree, "that "anxiety and diffidence ſo natural to an "author in delivering to the world his firſt "performance."—"The time," (he obſerves in his preface,) "which I have employed "in attempting to render it worthy of the "public approbation, it is perhaps prudent "to conceal, till it ſhall be known whether "that approbation is ever to be beſtowed."

Among the many congratulatory letters addreſſed to him on this occaſion, a few have been accidentally preſerved; and, although the contents of ſome of them may not now appear very important, they ſtill derive a certain degree of intereſt from the names and characters of the writers, and from the ſympathetic ſhare which a good-natured reader cannot fail to take in Dr. Robertſon's feelings, when he perceived the firſt dawning of his future fame.

In the extracts, however, which I mean at preſent to produce from theſe letters, my

principal object is to ſhew, how very ſtrong an impreſſion was made on the public mind by this work at the time of its firſt appearance. It was then regarded as an attempt towards a ſpecies of compoſition that had been cultivated with very little ſucceſs in this iſland; and accordingly it entitles the Author, not merely to the praiſe which would now be due to an Hiſtorian of equal eminence, but to a high rank among thoſe original and leading minds that form and guide the taſte of a nation. In this view, a juſt eſtimate of its peculiar merits is more likely to be collected from the teſtimony of ſuch as could compare it only with the productions of former writers, than from the opinions of critics familiariſed in early life to all that has ſince been done to imitate or to rival its beauties.

A letter from Mr. Horace Walpole, to whom ſome ſpecimens of the work had been communicated during the Author's viſit to London, is the earlieſt teſtimony of this kind which I have found among his papers. It is dated January 18, 1759.

"I ex-

"I expect with impatience your book, "which you are ſo kind as to ſay you have "ordered for me, and for which I already "give you many thanks: the ſpecimen I "ſaw convinces me that I do not thank "you raſhly. Good Hiſtorians are the moſt "ſcarce of all writers; and no wonder! a "good ſtyle is not very common; thorough "information is ſtill more rare:—and if "theſe meet, what a chance that impartiality ſhould be added to them! Your ſtyle, "Sir, I may venture to ſay, I ſaw was uncommonly good; I have reaſon to think "your information ſo: and in the few times "I had the pleaſure of converſing with you, "your good ſenſe and candour made me "conclude, that even on a ſubject which we "are fooliſh enough to make *party*, you "preſerve your judgment unbiaſſed. I fear "I ſhall not preſerve mine ſo; the too "kind acknowledgments that I frequently "receive from Gentlemen of your country, "of the juſt praiſe that I paid to merit, will "make me at leaſt for the future not very "unprejudiced. If the opinion of ſo trifling "a writer as I am was of any conſequence,

" it would then be worth Scotland's while " to let the world know, that when my book " was written, I had no reaſon to be partial " to it:—but, Sir, your country will truſt " to the merit of its natives, not to foreign " teſtimonials, for its reputation."

This letter was followed immediately by another from Dr. Robertſon's Bookſeller, Mr. Millar. It is dated 27th January 1759, a few days before the publication of the book, and conveys very flattering expreſſions of approbation from Dr. Warburton and Mr. Garrick, to both of whom copies had been privately ſent at the Author's requeſt:—expreſſions, which, though they cannot now add much to a reputation ſo ſolidly eſtabliſhed, were gratifying at the time, and do honour to the candour and diſcernment of the writers.

" I have received," (ſays Dr. Warburton, in a note addreſſed to Mr. Millar,) " and " read with great pleaſure, the new Hiſtory " of Scotland, and will not wait for the " judgment of the public, to pronounce it a " very excellent work. From the Author's " apparent love of civil and religious liberty,

" I ſup-

" I ſuppoſe, that were it not for fear of " offence, (which every wiſe man in his " ſituation would fear to give), he would " have ſpoken with much more freedom of " the Hierarchical principles of the infant " Church of Scotland."

Mr. Garrick, beſide writing to Millar, addreſſed himſelf directly to the Author. " Upon my word, I was never more en- " tertained in all my life; and though I " read it aloud to a friend and Mrs. Gar- " rick, I finiſhed the three firſt books at " two ſittings. I could not help writing " to Millar, and congratulating him upon " this great acquiſition to his literary " treaſures.—I will aſſure you that there " is no *love loſt* (as the ſaying is) between " you and Mrs. Garrick. She is reſolved " to ſee Scotland as ſoon as my affairs will " permit: nor do I find her inclination in " the leaſt abated, though I read your " *Second Book* (in which her religion is ſo " exquiſitely handled) with all the male- " volent exertion I was maſter of—but it " would not do; ſhe thinks you right even " in that, and ſtill reſolves to ſee Scotland.

" In

"In ſhort, if ſhe can give up the Pope "and his trumpery ſo readily to you, what "muſt her poor huſband think? I ſhall "keep in England, I aſſure you; for you "have convinced me how difficult it is to "contend with the Scots in their own "country."

Theſe agreeable anticipations of the public voice were, in a few weeks, fully confirmed by a letter from Mr. Strahan, late printer to his Majeſty, and a partner of Mr. Millar's in the property of the book. It is the oldeſt letter of Mr. Strahan's that I have obſerved among Dr. Robertſon's papers. Many were afterwards written, in the courſe of a correſpondence which continued twenty years, and which Dr. Robertſon always mentioned with much pleaſure, and with the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies to the worth, the liberality, and the diſcernment of his friend.—The concluding ſentences expreſs ſtrongly the opinion which this very competent judge had previouſly formed of the probable reception of a Hiſtory of Scotland.

——"I

——" I moſt ſincerely wiſh you joy of " your ſucceſs, and have not the leaſt doubt " but it will have all the good effects upon " your future fortune which you could " poſſibly hope for or expect.—Much de- " pended on the firſt performance: that " trial is now happily over, and henceforth " you will ſail with a favourable gale. In " truth, to acquire ſuch a flood of appro- " bation from writing on a ſubject in itſelf " ſo unpopular in this country, is neither a " commonn or a contemptible conqueſt *."

By the kindneſs of Mr. Strahan's ſon † I am enabled to quote the following paſſage from Dr. Robertſon's anſwer to the foregoing letter:

" When we took leave, on finiſhing the " printing of my book, I had no expecta- " tion that it was ſo ſoon to come through " your hands a ſecond time. The rapidity " of its ſucceſs has not ſurpriſed any man " more than the Author of it. I do not " affect to think worſe of it than is natural

* See Appendix, (B.)

† Andrew Strahan Eſq M. P.

" for

" for him who made it; and I never was " much afraid of the ſubject, which is " intereſting to the Engliſh as well as " Scots; but a much more moderate ſucceſs " was all I looked for. However, ſince " it has ſo far outgone my hopes, I enjoy " it. I have flattered nobody in order to " obtain it, and I have not ſpared to ſpeak " truth of all factions and ſects."

It would be tedious and uſeleſs to tranſcribe the complimentary paſſages which occur in various other letters from the Author's friends. Lord Royſton, the late Sir Gilbert Elliot, Dr. Birch, Dr. Douglas, (now Biſhop of Saliſbury,) and Dr. John Blair, (late Prebendary of Weſtminſter,) were among the firſt to perceive and to predict the extent of that reputation he was about to eſtabliſh. A few paſſages from the letters addreſſed to him by Mr. Walpole and Mr. David Hume, as they enter more into detail concerning his merits as a writer, may, I think, be introduced into this memoir without impropriety.

" Having finiſhed" (ſays Mr. Walpole) " the firſt volume, and made a little pro-

" greſs

" greſs in the ſecond, I cannot ſtay till I
" have finiſhed the latter to tell you how
" exceedingly I admire the work. Your
" modeſty will make you perhaps ſuppoſe
" theſe are words of compliment and of
" courſe; but as I can give you very good
" reaſons for my approbation, you may
" believe that I no more flatter your per-
" formance, than I have read it ſuper-
" ficially, haſtily, or careleſsly.

" The ſtyle is moſt pure, proper, and
" equal; is very natural and eaſy, except
" now and then where, as I may juſtly call
" it, you are forced to *tranſlate* from bad
" writers. You will agree with me, Sir,
" that an hiſtorian who writes from other
" authorities cannot poſſibly always have
" as flowing a ſtyle as an author whoſe
" narrative is dictated from his own know-
" ledge. Your perſpicuity is moſt beau-
" tiful, your relation always intereſting,
" never languid; and you have very ex-
" traordinarily united two merits very
" difficult to be reconciled; I mean, that,
" though you have formed your hiſtory
" into pieces of information, each of which

"would make a ſeparate memoir, yet the "whole is hurried on into one uninter- "rupted ſtory. I aſſure you I value myſelf "on the firſt diſtinction, eſpecially as Mr. "Charles Townſhend made the ſame re- "mark. You have preſerved the gravity "of Hiſtory without any formality, and "you have at the ſame time avoided what I "am now running into, antitheſis and "conceit. In ſhort, Sir, I don't know "where or what hiſtory is written with "more excellencies:—and when I ſay this, "you may be ſure, I do not forget your "impartiality.—But, Sir, I will not wound "your baſhfulneſs with more encomiums; "yet the public will force you to hear "them. I never knew juſtice ſo rapidly "paid to a work of ſo deep and ſerious a "kind; for deep it is, and it muſt be great "ſenſe that could penetrate ſo far into "human nature, conſidering how little "you have been converſant with the "world."

The long and uninterrupted friendſhip which ſubſiſted between Dr. Robertſon and Mr. Hume is well known: and it is certainly

tainly a circumſtance highly honourable to both, when we conſider the wide diverſity of their ſentiments on the moſt important ſubjects, and the tendency which the coincidence of their hiſtorical labours would naturally have had to excite rivalſhip and jealouſy in leſs liberal minds. The paſſages I am now to quote from Mr. Hume's letters place in a moſt amiable light the characters both of the writer and of his correſpondent.

" You have very good cauſe to be ſatiſ-
" fied with the ſucceſs of your hiſtory, as
" far as it can be judged of from a few
" weeks' publication. I have not heard of
" one who does not praiſe it warmly; and
" were I to enumerate all thoſe whoſe
" ſuffrages I have either heard in its favour,
" or been told of, I ſhould fill my letter
" with a liſt of names. Mallet told me
" that he was ſure there was no Engliſh-
" man capable of compoſing ſuch a work.
" The town will have it that you was
" educated at Oxford, thinking it impoſ-
" ſible for a mere untravelled Scotchman to
" produce ſuch language. In ſhort, you
" may

" may depend on the ſucceſs of your work,
" and that your name is known very much
" to your advantage.

" I am diverting myſelf with the notion
" how much you will profit by the applauſe
" of my enemies in Scotland. Had you and
" I been ſuch fools as to have given way to
" jealouſy, to have entertained animoſity
" and malignity againſt each other, and
" to have rent all our acquaintance into
" parties, what a noble amuſement we
" ſhould have exhibited to the blockheads,
" which now they are likely to be diſap-
" pointed of. All the people whoſe friend-
" ſhip or judgment either of us value, are
" friends to both, and will be pleaſed with
" the ſucceſs of both, as we will be with
" that of each other. I declare to you
" I have not of a long time had a more
" ſenſible pleaſure than the good reception
" of your Hiſtory has given me within this
" fortnight."——

I cannot deny myſelf the ſatisfaction of tranſcribing a few paragraphs from another letter of Mr. Hume's, dated the 20th of the ſame month. " I am afraid that my letters

" will

" will be tedious and diſagreeable to you by
" their uniformity. Nothing but continued
" and unvaried accounts of the ſame thing
" muſt in the end prove diſguſting. Yet
" ſince you will hear me ſpeak on this ſub-
" ject, I cannot help it, and muſt fatigue
" your ears as much as ours are in this place
" by endleſs, and repeated, and noiſy praiſes
" of the Hiſtory of Scotland. Dr. Dou-
" glas told me yeſterday that he had ſeen
" the Biſhop of Norwich, who had juſt
" bought the book from the high com-
" mendations he heard of it from Mr.
" Legge. Mallet told me that Lord Manſ-
" field is at a loſs whether he ſhall moſt
" eſteem the matter or the ſtyle. Elliot
" told me, that being in company with
" George Grenville, that Gentleman was
" ſpeaking loud in the ſame key. Our
" friend pretended ignorance; ſaid he knew
" the Author, and if he thought the book
" good for any thing, would ſend for it and
" read it. Send for it by all means, (ſaid
" Mr. Grenville,) you have not read a better
" book of a long time. But, ſaid Elliot, I

" ſuppoſe, although the matter may be
" tolerable, as the Author was never on
" this ſide of the Tweed till he wrote it, it
" muſt be very barbarous in the expreſ-
" ſion. By no means, cried Mr. Gren-
" ville; had the Author lived all his life in
" London, and in the beſt company, he
" could not have expreſſed himſelf with
" greater elegance and purity. Lord Lyt-
" telton ſeems to think that ſince the time
" of St. Paul there ſcarce has been a better
" writer than Dr. Robertſon. Mr. Wal-
" pole triumphs in the ſucceſs of his fa-
" vourites the Scotch, &c. &c. &c.

* * * *

" The great ſucceſs of your book, beſide
" its real merit, is forwarded by its pru-
" dence, and by the deference paid to
" eſtabliſhed opinions. It gains alſo by its
" being your firſt performance, and by its
" ſurpriſing the public, who are not upon
" their guard againſt it. By reaſon of theſe
" two circumſtances juſtice is more readily
" done to its merit, which, however, is
" really ſo great, that I believe there is
" ſcarce

" ſcarce another inſtance of a firſt perform-
" ance being ſo near perfection *."

Of this work, ſo flattering to the Author by its firſt ſucceſs, no fewer than fourteen editions were publiſhed before his death, and he had the ſatisfaction to ſee its popularity increaſe to the laſt, notwithſtanding the repeated aſſaults it had to encounter from various writers, diſtinguiſhed by their controverſial acuteneſs, and ſeconded by all the prepoſſeſſions which are likely to influence the opinions of the majority of readers. The character of Mary has been delineated anew, and the tale of her misfortunes has again been told, with no common powers of expreſſion and pathos, by an Hiſtorian more indulgent to her errors, and more undiſtinguiſhing in his praiſe: but, after all, it is in the Hiſtory of Dr. Robertſon that every one ſtill reads the tranſactions of her reign; and ſuch is his ſkilful contraſt of light and ſhade, aided by the irreſiſtible charm of his narration, that the ſtory of the beautiful and unfortunate Queen, as related

* Appendix, Note C.

by him, excites on the whole a deeper intereſt in her fortunes, and a more lively ſympathy with her fate, than have been produced by all the attempts to canonize her memory, whether inſpired by the ſympathetic zeal of the Romiſh church, or the enthuſiaſm of Scottiſh chivalry.

In peruſing the letters addreſſed to Dr. Robertſon on the publication of this book, it is ſomewhat remarkable that I have not found one in which he is charged with the ſlighteſt unfairneſs towards the Queen; and that, on the contrary, almoſt all his correſpondents accuſe him of an undue prepoſſeſſion in her favour. "I am afraid," (ſays Mr. Hume,) "that you, as well as "myſelf, have drawn Mary's character "with too great ſoftenings. She was un- "doubtedly a violent woman at all times. "You will ſee in *Munden* proofs of the "utmoſt rancour againſt her innocent, "good-natured, dutiful ſon. She certainly "diſinherited him. What think you of a "conſpiracy for kidnapping him, and de- "livering him a priſoner to the King of "Spain, never to recover his liberty till he

" ſhould turn Catholic?——Tell Goodall,
" that if he can but give me up Queen
" Mary, I hope to ſatisfy him in every
" thing elſe; and he will have the pleaſure
" of ſeeing John Knox and the Reformers
" made very ridiculous."

" It is plain," (ſays Mr. Walpole,) " that
" you wiſh to excuſe Mary; and yet it is
" ſo plain that you never violate truth in
" her favour, that I own I think ſtill worſe
" of her than I did, ſince I read your
" Hiſtory."

Dr. Birch expreſſes himſelf much to the ſame purpoſe. " If the ſecond volume of
" the State Papers of Lord Burleigh,
" publiſhed ſince Chriſtmas here, had ap-
" peared before your Hiſtory had been
" finiſhed, it would have furniſhed you
" with reaſons for entertaining a leſs fa-
" vourable opinion of Mary Queen of Scots
" in one or two points, than you ſeem at
" preſent poſſeſſed of."

Dr. John Blair too, in a letter dated from London, obſerves to Dr. Robertſon, that " the only general objection to his work
" was founded on his tenderneſs for Queen

" Mary." " Lord Chesterfield," (says he,) " though he approves much of your Hiſ- " tory, told me, that he finds this to be " a bias which no Scotchman can get the " better of."

I would not be underſtood, by quoting theſe paſſages, to give any opinion upon the ſubject to which they refer. It is a ſubject which I have never examined with attention, and which, I muſt confeſs, never excited my curioſity. Whatever judgment we form concerning the points in diſpute, it leads to no general concluſion concerning human affairs, nor throws any new light on human character. Like any other hiſtorical queſtion, in which the evidence has been induſtriouſly darkened by the arts of contending parties, the proofs of Mary's innocence or guilt may furniſh an amuſing and harmleſs employment to the leiſure of the antiquary; but, at this diſtance of time, it is difficult to conceive how prejudice or paſſion ſhould enter into the diſcuſſion, or ſhould magnify it into an object of important and ſerious reſearch. With reſpect to Dr. Robertſon's narrative, in parti-

particular, it is ſufficiently manifeſt, that whatever inaccuracies may be detected in it by the labours of ſucceeding inquirers, they can never furniſh to the partizans of Mary, any ground for impeaching his candour and good-faith as a Writer. All his prepoſſeſſions (if he had any on this ſubject) muſt have been in favour of the Queen; for, it was chiefly from the powerful intereſt excited by her ſtory, that he could hope for popularity with the multitude; and, it was only by the romantic pictures which her name preſents to the fancy, that he could accommodate to the refinement of modern taſte, the annals of a period, where perfidy, cruelty, and bigotry, appear in all their horrors; unembelliſhed by thoſe attractions which, in other ſtates of ſociety, they have ſo often aſſumed, and which, how much ſoever they may afflict the moraliſt, yet facilitate and adorn the labours of the Hiſtorian.

Among the various circumſtances that diſtinguiſh Dr. Robertſon's genius and taſte in the execution of this work, the addreſs with which he interweaves the perſonal

hiſtory of the Queen with the general events he records, is not the leaſt remarkable. Indeed, without the aid of ſo intereſting a character, the affairs of Scotland, during the period he treats of, could not have derived, even from his hand, a ſufficient importance and dignity to engage the curioſity of the preſent age.

Another difficulty ariſing alſo from his ſubject, he appears to me to have ſurmounted with exquiſite ſkill. In relating the tranſactions of a foreign country, however remote the period, and however antiquated the manners, it is eaſy for an Hiſtorian to avoid in his narrative, whatever might leſſen the dignity of the actors, or lower the tone of his compoſition. The employment of expreſſions debaſed by common and trivial uſe is ſuperſeded by the neceſſity he is under to tranſlate from one language into another; and the moſt inſignificant of his details derive a charm from the novelty of the ſcenery. The writer too, who, in this iſland, employs his genius on the ancient hiſtory of England, addreſſes himſelf to readers already

enamoured

enamoured of the ſubject, and who liſten with fond prepoſſeſſions to the recital of facts conſecrated in their imaginations by the tale of the nurſery. Even a deſcription of old Engliſh manners, expreſſed in the obſolete dialect of former centuries, pleaſes by its ſimplicity and truth; and while it preſents to us thoſe retroſpects of the paſt on which the mind loves to dwell, has no tendency to awaken any mean or ludicrous images. But the influence of Scottiſh aſſociations, ſo far as it is favourable to antiquity, is confined to Scotchmen alone, and furniſhes no reſources to the writer who aſpires to a place among the Engliſh claſſics. Nay, ſuch is the effect of that provincial ſituation to which Scotland is now reduced, that the tranſactions of former ages are apt to convey to ourſelves exaggerated conceptions of barbariſm, from the uncouth and degraded dialect in which they are recorded. To adapt the hiſtory of ſuch a country to the preſent ſtandard of Britiſh taſte, it was neceſſary for the Author, not only to excite an intereſt for names which, to the majority of his readers, were formerly

merly indifferent or unknown, but, what was ſtill more difficult, to unite in his portraits the truth of nature with the ſoftenings of art, and to reject whatever was unmeaning or offenſive in the drapery, without effacing the characteriſtic garb of the times. In this taſk of "conquering" (as Livy expreſſes it) "the rudeneſs of "antiquity by the art of writing," they alone are able to judge how far Dr. Robertſon has ſucceeded, who have compared his work with the materials out of which it was formed.

Nor are theſe ſacrifices to modern taſte inconſiſtent with the fidelity of a hiſtory which records the tranſactions of former ages. On the contrary, they aid the judgment of the reader in forming a philoſophical eſtimate of the condition and character of our anceſtors, by counteracting that ſtrong bias of the mind which confounds human nature and human life with the adventitious and ever-changing attire which they borrow from faſhion. When we read the compoſitions of Buchanan in his native tongue;—abounding in idioms which

which are now appropriated to the moſt illiterate claſſes of the people, and accompanied with an orthography which ſuggeſts the coarſeſt forms of Scottiſh pronunciation;—how difficult do we find it to perſuade ourſelves, that we are converſing with a writer, whoſe Latin productions vie with the beſt models of antiquity! No fact can illuſtrate more ſtrongly the neceſſity of correcting our common impreſſions concerning the antient ſtate of Scotland, by tranſlating, not only the antiquated ſtyle of our forefathers into a more modern phraſeology, but by tranſlating (if I may uſe the expreſſion) their antiquated faſhions into the correſponding faſhions of our own times.

The peculiar circumſtances of Scotland ſince the union of the crowns, are extremely apt to warp our ideas with reſpect to its previous Hiſtory. The happy but ſlow effects produced by the union of the kingdoms do not extend beyond the memory of ſome of our contemporaries; and the traditions we have received concerning the condition of our immediate predeceſſors are apt to impreſs us with a belief

belief that, at a ſtill earlier period, the gloom was proportionally more deep and univerſal. It requires an effort of reflection to conceive the effects which muſt have reſulted from the reſidence of a court; and it is not, perhaps, eaſy for us to avoid under-rating the importance of that court while it exiſted. During the long and intimate intercourſe with England, which preceded the diſputed ſucceſſion between Bruce and Baliol, it was certainly not without its ſhare of that "barbaric pomp" which was then affected by the Engliſh Sovereigns; nor, under our later kings, connected as it was with the court of France, could it be altogether untinctured with thoſe envied manners and habits, of which that country has been always regarded as the parent ſoil, and which do not ſeem to be the native growth of either part of our iſland. Theſe circumſtances, accordingly, (aided, perhaps, in no inconſiderable degree, by the field of ambition preſented by an opulent Hierarchy,) appear to have operated powerfully on the national ſpirit and genius. The ſtudies which

which were then valued in other parts of Europe, were cultivated by many of our countrymen with diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs. Nor was their own vernacular tongue neglected by thoſe, whoſe rank or ſituation deſtined them for public affairs. At the æra, more particularly, when Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory cloſes, it was ſo rapidly aſſuming a more regular form, that, excepting by a different ſyſtem of orthography, and a few inconſiderable peculiarities of dialect, the epiſtolary ſtyle of ſome of our Scottiſh ſtateſmen is hardly diſtinguiſhable from that of Queen Elizabeth's Miniſters.

This æra was followed by a long and melancholy period, equally fatal to morals and to refinement; and which had ſcarcely arrived at its complete termination when Dr. Robertſon appeared as an Author; aſpiring at once to adorn the monuments of former times, when Scotland was yet a kingdom, and to animate his countrymen by his example, in reviving its literary honours.

Before quitting this firſt work of Dr. Robertſon, I muſt not omit to mention (what

(what forms the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of its excellence) the ſevere trial it had to undergo in the public judgment, by appearing nearly at the ſame time with that volume of Mr. Hume's hiſtory, which involves an account of Scottiſh affairs during the reigns of Q. Mary and K. James.—It is not my intention to attempt a parallel of theſe two eminent writers: nor, indeed, would the ſincerity of their mutual attachment, and the lively recollection of it which ſtill remains with many of their common friends, juſtify me in ſtating their reſpective merits in the way of oppoſition. Their peculiar excellencies, beſides, were of a kind ſo different, that they might be juſtly ſaid (in the language which a Roman Critic employs in ſpeaking of Livy and Salluſt) to be *pares magis quam ſimiles.* They divide between them the honour of having ſupplied an important blank in Engliſh literature, by enabling their countrymen to diſpute the palm of hiſtorical writing with the other nations of Europe. Many have ſince followed their example, in attempting to beſtow intereſt

and

and ornament on different portions of British ſtory; but the public voice ſufficiently acquits me of any partiality when I ſay, that hitherto they have only been followed at a diſtance. In this reſpect, I may with confidence apply to them the panegyric which Quinctilian pronounces on the two great Hiſtorians of Ancient Greece;—and, perhaps, if I were inclined to characteriſe the beauties moſt prominent in each, I might, without much impropriety, avail myſelf of the contraſt with which that panegyric concludes.

"Hiſtoriam multi ſcripſere, ſed nemo
"dubitat, duos longe cæteris præferendos,
"quorum diverſa virtus laudem pene eſt
"parem conſecuta. Denſus et brevis et
"ſemper inſtans ſibi Thucydides. Dulcis
"et candidus et fuſus Herodotus. Ille
"concitatis, hic remiſſis affectibus melior.
"Ille vi, hic voluptate."

SECTION II.

Progreſs of Dr. Robertſon's Literary Plans and Undertakings.—Hiſtory of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.

DURING the time that the Hiſtory of Scotland was in the preſs, Dr. Robertſon removed with his family from Gladſmuir to Edinburgh, in conſequence of a preſentation which he had received to one of the churches of that city. His preferments now multiplied rapidly. In 1759, he was appointed Chaplain of Stirling Caſtle; in 1761, one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary, for Scotland; and in 1762, he was choſen Principal of this Univerſity. Two years afterwards, the office of King's Hiſtoriographer for Scotland (with a ſalary of two hundred pounds a-year) was revived in his favour.

The

The revenue ariſing from theſe different appointments, though far exceeding what had ever been enjoyed before by any Preſbyterian Clergyman in Scotland, did not ſatisfy the zeal of ſome of Dr. Robertſon's admirers, who, mortified at the narrow field which this part of the iſland afforded to his ambition, wiſhed to open to it the career of the Engliſh Church. References to ſuch a project, occur in letters addreſſed to him about this time by Sir Gilbert Elliot, Mr. Hume, and Dr. John Blair. What anſwer he returned to them, I have not been able to learn; but, as the ſubject is mentioned once only by each of theſe Gentlemen, it is probable that his diſapprobation was expreſſed in thoſe decided terms which became the conſiſtency and dignity of his character.

Dr. Robertſon's own ambition was, in the mean time, directed to a different object. Soon after the publication of his Scottiſh Hiſtory, we find him conſulting his friends about the choice of another hiſtorical ſubject;—anxious to add new laurels to thoſe

he had already acquired. Dr. John Blair urged him ſtrongly on this occaſion to write a complete Hiſtory of England; and mentioned to him, as an inducement, a converſation between Lord Cheſterfield and Colonel Irwin, in which the former ſaid, that he would not ſcruple, if Dr. Robertſon would undertake ſuch a work, to move, in the Houſe of Peers, that he ſhould have public encouragement to enable him to carry it into execution. But this propoſal he was prevented from liſtening to, by his unwillingneſs to interfere with Mr. Hume; although it coincided with a favourite plan which he himſelf had formed at a very early period of his life. The two ſubjects which appear to have chiefly divided his choice were, the Hiſtory of Greece, and that of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. Between theſe he heſitated long, balancing their comparative advantages and diſadvantages, and availing himſelf of all the lights that his correſpondents could impart to him. Mr. Walpole and Mr. Hume took a more peculiar intereſt in his deliberations, and diſcuſſed the ſubject with him at length in various

various letters. I ſhall extract a few paſſages from theſe. The opinions of ſuch Writers upon ſuch a queſtion cannot fail to be generally intereſting; and ſome of the hints they ſuggeſt may perhaps be uſeful to thoſe who, conſcious of their own powers, are diſpoſed to regret that the field of hiſtorical compoſition is exhauſted.

"The following paſſages are copied from a letter of Mr. Walpole, dated 4th March 1759.

"If I can throw in any additional "temptation to your diſpoſition for writ- "ing, it is worth my while, even at the "hazard of my judgment and my know- "ledge, both of which however are ſmall "enough to make me tender of them. "Before I read your Hiſtory, I ſhould "probably have been glad to dictate to "you, and (I will venture to ſay it—it "ſatirizes nobody but myſelf) ſhould have "thought I did honour to an obſcure "Scotch Clergyman, by directing his "ſtudies with my ſuperior lights and "abilities. How you have ſaved me, "Sir, from making a ridiculous figure,

"by making ſo great an one yourſelf!
"But could I ſuſpect, that a man I believe
"much younger, and whoſe dialect I
"ſcarce underſtood, and who came to me
"with all the diffidence and modeſty of a
"very middling author, and who I was
"told had paſſed his life in a ſmall living
"near Edinburgh; could I ſuſpect that he
"had not only written what all the world
"now allows the beſt modern hiſtory, but
"that he had written it in the pureſt Eng-
"liſh, and with as much ſeeming know-
"ledge of men and courts as if he had
"paſſed all his life in important embaſſies?
"In ſhort, Sir, I have not power to make
"you, what you ought to be, a Miniſter
"of State—but I will do all I can, I will
"ſtimulate you to continue writing, and
"I ſhall do it without preſumption.

"I ſhould like either of the ſubjects you
"mention, and I can figure one or two
"others that would ſhine in your hands.
"In one light the hiſtory of Greece ſeems
"preferable. You know all the materials
"for it that can poſſibly be had. It is
"concluded; it is clear of all objections;

"for

" for perhaps nobody but I ſhould run
" wildly into paſſionate fondneſs for li-
" berty, if I was writing about Greece.
" It even might, I think, be made agree-
" ably new, and *that* by comparing the
" extreme difference of their manners and
" ours, particularly in the article of
" finances, a ſyſtem almoſt new in the
" world.

. . . . . .

" With regard to the Hiſtory of
" Charles V., it is a magnificent ſubject,
" and worthy of you. It is more: it is
" fit for you; for you have ſhewn that
" you can write on tickliſh ſubjects with
" the utmoſt diſcretion, and on ſubjects
" of religious party with temper and
" impartiality. Beſides, by what little I
" have ſkimmed of Hiſtory myſelf, I
" have ſeen how many miſtakes, how
" many prejudices, may eaſily be detect-
" ed: and though much has been written
" on that age, probably truth ſtill remains
" to be written of it. Yet I have an
" objection to this ſubject. Though
" Charles V. was in a manner the Em-

" peror of Europe, yet he was a German " or a Spaniard. Conſider, Sir, by what " you muſt have found in writing the " Hiſtory of Scotland, how difficult it " would be for the moſt penetrating genius " of another country to give an adequate " idea of Scottiſh ſtory. So much of all " tranſactions muſt take their riſe from, " and depend on, national laws, cuſtoms, " and ideas, that I am perſuaded a native " would always diſcover great miſtakes in " a foreign writer. Greece, indeed, is a " foreign country; but no Greek is alive " to diſprove one.

" There are two other ſubjects which I " have ſometimes had a mind to treat my- " ſelf; though my naming one of them " will tell you why I did not. It was *the* " *Hiſtory of Learning*. Perhaps, indeed, " it is a work which could not be exe- " cuted unleſs intended by a young man " from his firſt looking on a book with " reflection. The other is, the Hiſtory of " what I may in one light call the moſt " remarkable period of the world, by " containing a ſucceſſion of five good

" Princes: I need not ſay, they were " Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, and the two " Antonines. Not to mention, that no " part almoſt of the Roman Hiſtory has " been well written from the death of " Domitian, this period would be the " faireſt pattern for uſe, if Hiſtory can " ever effect what ſhe ſo much pretends " to, doing good. I ſhould be tempted " to call it the *Hiſtory of Humanity*; for " though Trajan and Adrian had private " vices that diſgraced them as men, as " Princes they approached to perfection. " Marcus Aurelius arrived ſtill nearer, " perhaps with a little oſtentation; yet " vanity is an amiable machine, if it ope- " rates to benevolence. Antoninus Pius " ſeems to have been as good as human " nature royalized can be. Adrian's per- " ſecution of the Chriſtians would be ob- " jected, but then it is much controverted. " I am no admirer of elective monarchies; " and yet it is remarkable, that when " Aurelius's diadem deſcended to his natu- " ral heir, not to the heir of his virtues, the " line of beneficence was extinguiſhed; for

"I am ſorry to ſay, that *hereditary* and "*bad* are almoſt ſynonymous.—But I am "ſenſible, Sir, that I am a bad adviſer for "you; the chaſtity, the purity, the good "ſenſe and regularity of your manner, that "unity you mention, and of which you "are the greateſt maſter, ſhould not be led "aſtray by the licentious frankneſs, and, "I hope, honeſt indignation of my way "of thinking. I may be a fitter compa-"nion than a guide; and it is with moſt "ſincere zeal, that I offer myſelf to con-"tribute any aſſiſtance in my power to-"wards poliſhing your future work, what-"ever it ſhall be. You want little help; "I can give little; and indeed I, who am "taxed with incorrectneſſes, ſhould not "aſſume airs of a corrector. My *Cata-"logue* I intended ſhould have been exact "enough in ſtyle: it has not been thought "ſo by ſome: I tell you, that you may not "truſt me too much. Mr. Gray, a very "perfect judge, has ſometimes cenſured "me for parliamentary phraſes, familiar to "me, as your Scotch law is to you. I "might plead for my inaccuracies, that

"the

" the greateſt part of my book was written
" with people talking in the room; but
" that is no excuſe to myſelf, who in-
" tended it for correct. However, it is
" eaſier to remark inaccuracies in the work
" of another than in one's own; and, ſince
" you command me, I will go again over
" your ſecond volume, with an eye to the
" ſlips, a light in which I certainly did not
" intend my ſecond examination of it."

In tranſcribing ſome of theſe paragraphs, as well as in the other extracts I have borrowed from Mr. Walpole's letters, I muſt acknowledge, that I have been leſs influenced by my own private judgment, than by my deference for the partiality which the public has long entertained for this popular and faſhionable Writer. Of the literary talents of an author on whom ſo much flattery has been lavished, it does not become me to ſpeak diſreſpectfully; nor would I be underſtood to detract from his merits in his own peculiar and very limited walk of hiſtorical diſquiſition: but I ſhould be wanting to myſelf, if I were not to avow, that in the foregoing quotation,

tion, my object was rather to gratify the curiosity of others, than to record a testimony which I consider as of any importance to Dr. Robertson's fame. The value of praise, besides, whatever be the abilities of him who bestows it, depends on the opinion we entertain of his candour and sincerity; qualities which it will be difficult to allow to Mr. Walpole, after comparing the various passages quoted in this memoir, with the sentiments he expresses on the same subject in his posthumous publication.

For the length of the following extract from a letter of Mr. Hume's, no such apology is necessary. The matter is valuable in itself;—and the objections stated to the age of Charles V. as a subject for history, form the highest possible panegyrick on the abilities of the Writer, by whom the difficulties which appeared so formidable to Mr. Hume, were so successfully surmounted.

"I have frequently thought, and talked "with our common friends upon the "subject of your letter. There always

"occurred

" occurred to us ſeveral difficulties with
" regard to every ſubject we could pro-
" poſe. The Ancient Greek Hiſtory has
" ſeveral recommendations, particularly the
" good authors from which it muſt be
" drawſt: but this ſame circumſtance be-
" comes an objection, when more narrowly
" conſidered: for what can you do in
" moſt places with theſe authors but tran-
" ſcribe and tranſlate them? No letters or
" ſtate-papers from which you could cor-
" rect their errors, or authenticate their
" narration, or ſupply their defects. Be-
" ſides Rollin is ſo well wrote with re-
" ſpect to ſtyle, that with ſuperficial people
" it paſſes for ſufficient. There is one Dr.
" Leland, who has lately wrote the life
" of Philip of Macedon, which is one of
" the beſt periods. The book, they tell
" me, is perfectly well wrote, yet it has
" had ſuch ſmall ſale, and has ſo little ex-
" cited the attention of the public, that
" the Author has reaſon to think his la-
" bour thrown away. I have not read the
" book; but by the ſize, I ſhould judge it
" to be too particular. It is a pretty large
" quarto.

" quarto. I think a book of that ſize ſuf-
" ficient for the whole Hiſtory of Greece
" till the death of Philip: and I doubt not
" but ſuch a work would be ſucceſsful,
" notwithſtanding all theſe diſcouraging
" circumſtances. The ſubject is noble, and
" Rollin is by no means equal to it.

" I own, I like ſtill leſs your project of
" the Age of Charles the Fifth. That
" ſubject is disjointed; and your Hero,
" who is the ſole connection, is not very
" intereſting. A competent knowledge at
" leaſt is required of the ſtate and conſti-
" tution of the Empire; of the ſeveral
" kingdoms of Spain, of Italy, of the
" Low Countries; which it would be the
" work of half a life to acquire; and,
" though ſome parts of the ſtory may be
" entertaining, there would be many dry
" and barren; and the whole ſeems not to
" have any great charms.

" But I would not willingly ſtart ob-
" jections to theſe ſchemes, unleſs I had
" ſomething to propoſe, which would be
" plauſible; and I ſhall mention to you
" an idea which has ſometimes pleaſed
" me,

" me, and which I had once entertained
" thoughts of attempting. You may ob-
" ſerve that among modern readers, Plu-
" tarch is in every tranſlation the chief
" favourite of the Ancients. Numberleſs
" tranſlations, and numberleſs editions have
" been made of him in all languages;
" and no tranſlation has been ſo ill done
" as not to be ſucceſsful. Though thoſe
" who read the originals never put him
" in compariſon either with Thucydides
" or Xenophon, he always attaches more
" the reader in the tranſlation; a proof
" that the idea and execution of his work
" is, in the main, happy. Now, I would
" have you think of writing modern lives,
" ſomewhat after that manner: not to
" enter into a detail of the actions, but
" to mark the manners of the great per-
" ſonages, by domeſtic ſtories, by remark-
" able ſayings, and by a general ſketch of
" their lives and adventures. You ſee that
" in Plutarch the life of Cæſar may be read
" in half an hour. Were you to write
" the life of Henry the Fourth of France
" after that model, you might pillage all
" the

" the pretty ſtories in Sully, and ſpeak
" more of his miſtreſſes than of his
" battles. In ſhort, you might gather the
" flower of all Modern Hiſtory in this
" manner: The remarkable Popes, the
" Kings of Sweden, the great diſcoverers
" and conquerors of the New World;
" even the eminent men of letters might
" furniſh you with matter, and the quick
" diſpatch of every different work would
" encourage you to begin a new one. If
" one volume were ſucceſsful, you might
" compoſe another at your leiſure, and
" the field is inexhauſtible. There are
" perſons whom you might meet with in
" the corners of Hiſtory, ſo to ſpeak, who
" would be a ſubject of entertainment
" quite unexpected; and as long as you
" live, you might give and receive amuſe-
" ment by ſuch a work. Even your ſon,
" if he had a talent for hiſtory, would
" ſucceed to the ſubject, and his ſon to
" him. I ſhall inſiſt no farther on this
" idea; becauſe, if it ſtrikes your fancy,
" you will eaſily perceive all its advan-

" tages,

"tages, and, by farther thought, all its "difficulties."

After much deliberation, Dr. Robertſon reſolved to undertake the Hiſtory of Charles V.—a determination not leſs fortunate for the public than for his own fame; as it engaged him, unexpectedly perhaps, in a train of reſearches not confined to the period, or to the quarter of the globe that he had originally in view; but which, opening as he advanced, new and more magnificent proſpects, attracted his curioſity to two of the greateſt and moſt intereſting ſubjects of ſpeculation in the Hiſtory of Human Affairs;—the enterpriſes of modern ambition in the Weſtern World, and the traces of ancient wiſdom and arts exiſting in the Eaſt.

The progreſs of the work, however, was interrupted for ſome time, about a year after its commencement, by certain circumſtances which induced him to liſten more favourably than formerly to the

entreaties

entreaties of thoſe friends who urged him to attempt a Hiſtory of England. The motives that weighed with him on this occaſion are fully explained in a correſpondence ſtill extant, in which there are various particulars tending to illuſtrate his character and his literary views.

From a letter of the late Lord Cathcart to Dr. Robertſon, (dated 20th July 1761,) the revival of this project would appear to have originated in a manner not a little flattering to the vanity of an author.

. . . . . "Lord Bute told me the King's "thoughts, as well as his own, with re- "ſpect to your Hiſtory of Scotland, and a "wiſh his Majeſty had expreſſed to ſee a "Hiſtory of England by your pen. His "Lordſhip aſſured me, every ſource of "information which Government can "command would be opened to you; and "that great, laborious, and extenſive as "the work muſt be, he would take care "your encouragement ſhould be propor- "tioned to it. He ſeemed to be aware of "ſome objections you once had, founded "on the apprehenſion of claſhing or inter-

"fering

"fering with Mr. David Hume who is
" your friend; but as your performance
" and his will be upon plans ſo different
" from each other, and as *his* will, in
" point of time, have ſo much the ſtart
" of yours, theſe objections did not ſeem
" to him ſuch as, upon reflection, were
" likely to continue to have much weight
" with you. . . . . .

. . . . . " I muſt add, that though I
" did not think it right to enquire particu-
" larly into Lord Bute's intentions before
" I knew a little of your mind, it appeared
" to me plain, that they were higher than
" any views which can open to you in
" Scotland, and which, I believe, he
" would think inconſiſtent with the atten-
" tion the other ſubject would neceſſarily
" require." . . . . . .

A paper which has been accidentally preſerved among the letters addreſſed to Dr. Robertſon by his friends, enables me to ſtate his ſentiments with reſpect to the foregoing propoſal, in his own words. It is in Dr. Robertſon's hand-writing, and is marked on the back as " An imperfect

" Sketch of his Anſwer to Lord Cathcart's " letter of July 20th." The following extracts contain all thoſe parts of it which are connected with the project of the Engliſh Hiſtory.

. . . . . " After the firſt publication of " the Hiſtory of Scotland, and the favour- " able reception it met with, I had both " very tempting offers from bookſellers, " and very confident aſſurances of public " encouragement, if I would undertake the " Hiſtory of England. But as Mr. Hume, " with whom, notwithſtanding the con- " trariety of our ſentiments both in reli- " gion and politics, I live in great friend- " ſhip, was at that time in the middle of " the ſubject, no conſideration of intereſt " or reputation would induce me to break " in upon a field of which he had taken " prior poſſeſſion; and I determined that " my interference with him ſhould never " be any obſtruction to the ſale or ſucceſs " of his work. Nor do I yet repent my " having reſiſted many ſolicitations to alter " this reſolution. But the caſe I now " think is entirely changed. His Hiſtory

" will

"will have been publiſhed ſeveral years "before any work of mine on the ſame "ſubject can appear; its firſt run will not "be marred by any juſtling with me, and "it will have taken that ſtation in the "literary ſyſtem which belongs to it. This "objection, therefore, which I thought, "and ſtill think, ſo weighty at that time, "makes no impreſſion on me at preſent, "and I can now juſtify my undertaking "the Engliſh Hiſtory to myſelf, to the "world, and to him. Beſides, our man-"ner of viewing the ſame ſubject is ſo "different or peculiar, that (as was the caſe "in our laſt books) both may maintain "their own rank, have their own parti-"ſans, and poſſeſs their own merit, with-"out hurting each other.

"I am ſenſible how extenſive and "laborious the undertaking is, and that I "could not propoſe to execute it in the "manner I could wiſh, and the public will "expect, unleſs I ſhall be enabled to con-"ſecrate my whole time and induſtry to "it. Though I am not weary of my pro-"feſſion, nor wiſh ever to throw off my

" eccleſiaſtical character, yet I have often
" wiſhed to be free of the labour of daily
" preaching, and to have it in my power
" to apply myſelf wholly to my ſtudies.
" This the encouragement your Lordſhip
" mentions will put in my power. But as
" my chief reſidence muſt ſtill be in Scot-
" land, where I would chooſe, both for
" my own ſake and that of my family, to
" live and to compoſe; as a viſit of three
" or four months now and then to England
" will be fully ſufficient for conſulting ſuch
" manuſcripts as have never been publiſhed;
" I ſhould not wiſh to drop all connection
" with the church of which I am a mem-
" ber, but ſtill to hold ſome ſtation in it,
" without being reduced entirely to the
" profeſſion of an Author.

" Another circumſtance muſt be mentioned to your Lordſhip. As I have
" begun the Hiſtory of Charles V. and
" have above one-third of it finiſhed, I
" would not chooſe to loſe what I have
" done. It will take at leaſt two years to
" bring that work to perfection; and after
" that I ſhall begin the other, which was

" my firſt choice, long before Mr. Hume
" undertook it, though I was then too diſ-
" fident of myſelf, and too idle to make any
" progreſs in the execution of it, farther
" than forming ſome general ideas as to
" the manner in which it ſhould be pro-
" ſecuted.

" As to the eſtabliſhment to be made in
" my favour, it would ill become me to ſay
" any thing. Whether the preſent time
" be a proper one for ſettling the matter
" finally I know not. I beg leave only to
" ſay, that however much I may wiſh
" to have a point fixed ſo much for my
" honour, and which will give ſuch ſtabi-
" lity to all my future ſchemes, I am not
" impatient to enter into poſſeſſion, before I
" can ſet to work with that particular taſk
" for which my appointments are to be
" given."

In a letter addreſſed to Mr. Baron Mure, (dated Nov. 25, 1761,) Dr. Robertſon has explained himſelf ſtill more fully on ſome points touched on in the forgoing correſpondence.

"I need ſay no more of my reaſons for "not undertaking the Hiſtory of England "immediately after the publication of my "laſt book, or the circumſtances which "induce me to think that I may now "engage in it with propriety. Theſe I "have already explained, and I hope they "are approved of. The only thing about "which I have any difficulty is, the pro-"poſal of my reſiding in London with "my family during the time I ſhall be "employed in my intended work. If "ſuch a proſpect had opened to me a "dozen of years ago, I ſhould have "reckoned it a very fortunate accident, "and would have embraced it without "heſitation. But, at my time of life, "accuſtomed to the manners of my own "country, and living with eaſe and credit "and in good company here, I am un-"willing to think of entering upon new "habits, of forming new connections and "friendſhips, and of mingling with a "ſociety which, by what I have ſeen of "it, I do not reliſh ſo much as that to "which I am more familiar. This is the

"light

"light in which, if I were ſtill a ſingle "man, I muſt have viewed the matter. "But in my preſent ſituation, with a wife "and four children, my difficulties in- "creaſe; and I muſt conſider not only "what would be agreeable to myſelf, but "what may be of advantage to them. "You know how greatly the expence of "houſe-keeping at London exceeds that at "Edinburgh, and how much the charge of "educating children increaſes. You know "with what eaſe women of a middling "fortune mingle with good company in "Edinburgh; how impoſſible that is in "London; and even how great the ex- "pence is of their having any proper "ſociety at all. As I happen to have "three daughters, theſe circumſtances muſt "occur to me, and have their own weight. "Beſides this, if it ſhall pleaſe God to "ſpare my life a few years, I ſhall be "able to leave my family, if it continue in "Scotland, in a ſituation more independent "than I could ever expect from any ſuc- "ceſs or encouragement, if they ſhall ſettle "in England.

. . . . . " Were I to carve out my " own fortune, I ſhould wiſh to continue " one of his Majeſty's Chaplains for Scot- " land, but to reſign my charge as a " Miniſter of Edinburgh, which engroſſes " more of my time than one who is a " ſtranger to the many minute duties of " that office can well imagine. I would " wiſh to apply my whole time to literary " purſuits, which is at preſent parcelled " out among innumerable occupations. In " order to enable me to make this reſig- " nation, ſome appointment muſt be " aſſigned me for life. What that ſhould " be, it neither becomes me, nor do I pre- " tend to ſay. One thing, however, I wiſh " with ſome earneſtneſs, that the thing " might be executed ſoon, both as it will " give me great vigour in my ſtudies to " have my future fortune aſcertained in " ſuch an honourable manner, and becauſe, " by allowing me to apply myſelf wholly " to my preſent work, it will enable me to " finiſh it in leſs time, and to begin ſo much " the ſooner to my new taſk."

In

In what manner this plan, after being ſo far advanced, came to be finally abandoned, I have not been able to diſcover. The letters from which the foregoing extracts are taken, ſeem to have been preſerved by mere accident; and after the date of the laſt, I find a blank till 1763 in Dr. Robertſon's correſpondence with Lord Cathcart. Some letters which paſſed between them about that time are now in my poſſeſſion. They relate chiefly to a ſcheme which was then in agitation, and which was ſoon after accompliſhed, of reviving in Dr. Robertſon's favour the office of Hiſtoriographer for Scotland; but from various incidental paſſages in them, it appears clearly that he ſtill looked forwards to a Hiſtory of England as the next ſubject he was to undertake after that of Charles V. It is not impoſſible, that the reſignation of Lord Bute in 1764 may have contributed ſomewhat to alter his views, by impoſing on him the neceſſity of a new negociation through a different channel. The Hiſtory of Charles V. beſides, employed him much longer than he

he foreſaw; partly in conſequence of his avocations as Principal of the Univerſity, and partly of thoſe ariſing from his connection with the church, in which, at that period, faction ran high. In the execution too of this work, he found that the tranſactions relating to America, which he had originally intended as the ſubject of an epiſode, were of ſuch magnitude as to require a ſeparate narrative: and when at laſt he had brought to a termination the long and various labours in which he was thus involved, his health was too much impaired, and his life too far advanced, to allow him to think of an undertaking ſo vaſt in itſelf, and which Mr. Hume had already executed with ſo ſplendid and ſo merited a reputation.

The delays which retarded the publication of the Hiſtory of Charles V. together with the Author's eſtabliſhed popularity as a writer, had raiſed the curioſity of the public to a high pitch before that work appeared; and perhaps there never was a book, unconnected with the circumſtances of the times, that was expected with more general

general impatience. It is unneceſſary for me to ſay, that theſe expectations were not diſappointed; nor would it be worth while to ſwell this memoir with a repetition of the *eulogiums* laviſhed on the Author in the literary journals of the day. The ſentiments of his own perſonal friends, as expreſſed in the openneſs and confidence of a private epiſtolary correſpondence, cannot fail to be more intereſting; and I ſhall accordingly, on this, as on other occaſions, avail myſelf of whatever paſſages in his papers appear to me to be uſeful, either for illuſtrating his literary progreſs, or his habits and connections in private life.

The paragraphs which immediately follow are part of a letter from Mr. Hume, without any date; but written, as appears from the contents, while the Hiſtory of Charles V. was ſtill in the preſs. The levity of the ſtyle forms ſuch a ſtriking contraſt to the character which this grave and philoſophical Hiſtorian ſuſtains in his publications, that I have ſometimes heſitated about the propriety of ſubjecting to the criticiſms of the world ſo careleſs an effuſion of gaiety and

and affection. I truſt, however, that to ſome it will not be wholly unintereſting to enjoy a glimpſe of the Writer and his correſpondent in the habits of private intercourſe; and that to them the playful and good-natured irony of Mr. Hume will ſuggeſt not unpleaſing pictures of the hours which they borrowed from buſineſs and ſtudy. Dr. Robertſon uſed frequently to ſay, that in Mr. Hume's gaiety there was ſomething which approached to *infantine*; and that he had found the ſame thing ſo often exemplified in the circle of his other friends, that he was almoſt diſpoſed to conſider it as characteriſtical of genius. It has certainly lent an amiable grace to ſome of the moſt favourite names in Ancient Story.

——— Atqui
Primores Populi arripuit, Populumque tributim—
Quin ubi ſe a vulgo et ſcenâ in ſecreta remorant
Virtus Scipiadæ et mitis ſapientia Læli,
Nugari cum illo et diſcincti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, ſoliti.——

"I got yeſterday from Strahan about "thirty ſheets of your Hiſtory to be ſent "over

" over to Suard, and laſt night and this " morning have run them over with great " avidity. I could not deny myſelf the " ſatisfaction (which I hope alſo will not " diſpleaſe you) of expreſſing preſently my " extreme approbation of them. To ſay " only they are very well written, is by " far too faint an expreſſion, and much " inferior to the ſentiments I feel: they " are compoſed with nobleneſs, with dig- " nity, with elegance, and with judgment, " to which there are few equals. They " even excel, and, I think, in a ſenſible " degree, your Hiſtory of Scotland. I " propoſe to myſelf great pleaſure in being " the only man in England, during ſome " months, who will be in the ſituation of " doing you juſtice, after which you may " certainly expect that my voice will be " drowned in that of the public.

" You know that you and I have always " been on the footing of finding in each " other's productions *ſomething to blame*, " *and ſomething to commend*; and therefore " you may perhaps expect alſo ſome ſea- " ſoning of the former kind; but really

" neither

" neither my leiſure nor inclination allowed
" me to make ſuch remarks, and I ſincerely
" believe you have afforded me very ſmall
" materials for them. However, ſuch par-
" ticulars as occur to my memory I ſhall
" mention. *Maltreat* is a Scotticiſm which
" occurs once. What the devil had you
" to do with that old-faſhioned dangling
" word *wherewith?* I ſhould as ſoon take
" back *whereupon*, *whereunto*, and *where-*
" *withal*. I think the only tolerable,
" decent gentleman of the family is
" *wherein;* and I ſhould not chuſe to be
" often ſeen in his company. But I know
" your affection for *wherewith* proceeds
" from your partiality to Dean Swift,
" whom I can often laugh with, whoſe
" ſtyle I can even approve, but ſurely can
" never admire. It has no harmony, no
" eloquence, no ornament; and not much
" correctneſs, whatever the Engliſh may
" imagine. Were not their literature ſtill
" in a ſomewhat barbarous ſtate, that
" Author's place would not be ſo high
" among their claſſics. But what a fancy
" is this you have taken of ſaying always

" *an*

" *an hand, an heart, an head?* Have you
" *an ear?* Do you not know that this (n)
" is added before vowels to prevent the
" Cacophony, and ought never to take
" place before (h) when that letter is
" ſounded? It is never pronounced in theſe
" words: why ſhould it be wrote? Thus,
" I ſhould ſay, a *hiſtory*, and an *hiſtorian;*
" and ſo would you too, if you had any
" ſenſe. But you tell me, that Swift does
" otherwiſe. To be ſure there is no reply
" to that; and we muſt ſwallow your *hath*
" too upon the ſame authority. I will ſee
" you d——d ſooner.—But I will endea-
" vour to keep my temper.

" I do not like this ſentence in page
" 149. *This ſtep was taken in conſequence*
" *of the treaty Wolſey had concluded with*
" *the Emperor at Bruſſels, and which had*
" *hitherto been kept ſecret.* Si ſic omnia
" dixiſſes, I ſhould never have been
" plagued with hearing your praiſes ſo
" often ſounded, and that fools preferred
" your ſtyle to mine. Certainly it had been
" better to have ſaid, *which Wolſey, &c.*
" That relative ought very ſeldom to be
" omitted,

" omitted, and is here particularly requiſite " to preſerve a ſymmetry between the two " members of the ſentence. You omit the " relative too often, which is a colloquial " barbariſm, as Mr. Johnſon calls it.

" Your periods are ſometimes, though " not often, too long. Suard will be " embarraſſed with them, as the modiſh " French ſtyle runs into the other ex- " treme." . . . . . *

. . . . . .

Another letter of Mr. Hume's, (dated 28th March 1769,) relates to the ſame ſubject. " I find then that you are not

* Conſidering the critical attention which Mr. Hume appears to have given to the *minutiæ* of ſtyle, it is ſomewhat ſurpriſing that he ſhould himſelf fail ſo frequently both in purity and grammatical correctneſs. In theſe reſpects, his hiſtorical compoſitions will not bear a compariſon with thoſe of Dr. Robertſon; although they abound, in every page, with what Mr. Gibbon calls " careleſs, inimitable beauties." In his familiar letters the inaccuracies are more numerous than might have been expected from one accuſtomed ſo much to write with a view to publication; nor are theſe negligences *always* compenſated by that happy lightneſs and eaſe which he ſeems to have been ſtudious to attain.

" con-

" contented without a particular detail of " your own praiſes, and that the very ſhort " but pithy letter I wrote you gives you " no ſatisfaction. But what can I ſay more? " The ſucceſs has anſwered my expect- " ations: and I, who converſe with the " Great, the Fair, and the Learned, have " ſcarcely heard an oppoſite voice, or even " whiſper, to the general ſentiment. Only " I have heard that the Sanhedrim at Mrs. " Macaulay's condemns you as little leſs a " friend to Government and Monarchy " than myſelf." . . . . . .

Mr. Walpole's congratulations on this occaſion were no leſs warm than Mr. Hume's; but as they are expreſſed in more general terms, they do not ſupply materials equally intereſting for a quotation. The only letter, beſides, from Mr. Walpole relative to Charles V. that has come into my hands, was written before he had proceeded farther in the peruſal than the firſt volume. What the impreſſions were which that part of the work had left upon his mind, may be judged of from the following paragraph:

" Give me leave, Sir, without flattery, " to obſerve to yourſelf, what is very " natural to ſay to others. You are almoſt " the ſingle, certainly the greateſt inſtance, " that ſound parts and judgment can attain " every perfection of a writer, though it " be buried in the privacy of retired life " and deep ſtudy. You have neither the " prejudices of a recluſe, nor want any of " the taſte of a man of the world. Nor is " this poliſhed eaſe confined to your works, " which parts and imitation might poſſibly " ſeize. In the few hours I paſſed with " you laſt ſummer I was ſtruck with your " familiar acquaintance with men, and " with every topic of converſation. Of " your Scottiſh Hiſtory I have often ſaid, " that it ſeemed to me to have been written " by an able Ambaſſador, who had ſeen " much of affairs. I do not expect to find " leſs of that penetration in your Charles. " Why ſhould I not ſay thus much to " you? Why ſhould the language of flat- " tery forbid truth to ſpeak its mind, " merely becauſe flattery has ſtolen truth's " expreſſions? Why ſhould you be de-

" prived

" prived of the ſatisfaction of hearing the " impreſſion your merit has made? You " have ſenſe enough to be conſcious that " you deſerve what I have ſaid; and " though modeſty will forbid you to ſub- " ſcribe to it, juſtice to me and to my " character, which was never that of a flat- " terer, will oblige you ſilently to feel, that " I can have no motive but that of paying " homage to ſuperior abilities."

Lord Lyttleton was another correſpondent with whom Dr. Robertſon had occaſional communications. The firſt of his letters was an acknowledgment to him for a preſent of Charles V.; and is valuable on account of its coincidence with a letter of Mr. Hume's formerly quoted, in which he recommended to Dr. Robertſon to write lives in the manner of Plutarch.

" I don't wonder that your ſenſe of the " public expectation gives you ſome appre- " henſions; but I know that the Hiſtorian " of Mary Queen of Scots cannot fail to " do juſtice to any great ſubject; and no " greater can be found in the records of " mankind than this you have now

" choſen. Go on, dear Sir, to enrich the " Engliſh language with more tracts of " modern Hiſtory. We have nothing good " in that way, except what relates to the " iſland of Great Britain. You have talents " and youth enough to undertake the agree- " able and uſeful taſk of giving us all the " lives of the moſt illuſtrious Princes who " have flouriſhed ſince the age of Charles V. " in every part of the world, and com- " paring them together, as Plutarch has " done the moſt celebrated Heroes of " Greece and Rome. This will diffuſe " your glory as a Writer farther than any " other work. All nations will have an " equal intereſt in it; and feel a gratitude " to the ſtranger who takes pains to im- " mortalize the virtues of thoſe to whom " he is only related by the general ſympa- " thy of ſentiment and eſteem. Plutarch " was a Greek, which made him leſs im- " partial between his countrymen and the " Romans in weighing their comparative " merit, than you would be in contraſting " a Frenchman with a German, or an " Italian with a Spaniard, or a Dutchman

" with

" with a Swede. Select, therefore, thoſe " great men out of different countries, " whoſe characters and actions may be " beſt compared together, and preſent them " to our view, without that diſguiſe which " the partiality of their countrymen or the " malice of their enemies may have thrown " upon them. If I can animate you to " this, poſterity will owe me a very great " obligation."

I ſhall cloſe theſe extracts with a ſhort letter from Voltaire, dated 26th February 1770, from the *Chateau de Ferney*.

" Il y a quatre jours que j'ai reçu le " beau préſent dont vous m'avez honoré. " Je le lis malgré les fluxions horribles " qui me font craindre de perdre entière- " ment les yeux. Il me fait oublier tous " mes maux. C'eſt à vous et à M. Hume " qu'il appartient d'ecrire l'Hiſtoire. Vous " etes eloquent, ſavant, et impartial. Je " me joins à l'Europe pour vous eſtimer."

While Dr. Robertſon's fame was thus rapidly extending wherever the language in which he wrote was underſtood and cultivated, he had the ſingular good fortune to find in M. Suard, a writer fully capable of transfuſing into a language ſtill more univerſal, all the ſpirit and elegance of the original. It appears from a letter preſerved among Dr. Robertſon's papers, that M. Suard was ſelected for this undertaking, by the well-known Baron d'Holbach. He has ſince made ample additions to his fame by his own productions; but, if I am not miſtaken, it was his tranſlation of Charles V. which firſt eſtabliſhed his reputation, and procured him a ſeat in the French Academy *.

The high rank which this ſecond publication of Dr. Robertſon's has long maintained in the liſt of our Engliſh Claſſics, is ſufficient to juſtify the warm encomiums I have already tranſcribed from the letters of his friends. To the general ex-

* Appendix, Note D.

preſſions

preſſions of praiſe, however, which they have beſtowed on it, I ſhall take the liberty of adding a few remarks on ſome of thoſe ſpecific excellencies by which it appears to me to be more peculiarly diſtinguiſhed.

Among theſe excellencies, a moſt important one ariſes from the addreſs diſplayed by the Author in ſurmounting a difficulty, which has embarraſſed, more or leſs, all the Hiſtorians who have attempted to record the tranſactions of the two laſt centuries. In conſequence of thoſe relations which connect together the different countries of modern Europe as parts of one great ſyſtem, a general knowledge of the contemporary ſituation of other nations becomes indiſpenſable to thoſe who would fully comprehend the political tranſactions of any one ſtate at a particular period. In writing the hiſtory of a great nation, accordingly, it is neceſſary to connect with the narrative, occaſional epiſodes with reſpect to ſuch foreign affairs as had an influence on the policy of the Government, or on the fortunes of the people. To ac-

compliſh this with ſucceſs, by beſtowing on theſe digreſſions, perſpicuity and intereſt, without entering into that minuteneſs of detail which might miſlead the attention of the reader from the principal ſubject, is unqueſtionably one of the moſt difficult taſks of an Hiſtorian; and in executing this taſk, Dr. Robertſon's judgment and ſkill will not ſuffer by a compariſon with thoſe diſplayed by the moſt illuſtrious of his rivals.

In the work, however, now under our conſideration, he has aimed at ſomething more; for while he has recorded, with admirable diſtinctneſs, the tranſactions of a particular reign, (preſerving his epiſodes in ſo juſt a ſubordination to his main deſign, that they ſeldom produce any inconvenient diſtraction of attention or of intereſt,) he has contrived, by happy tranſitions, to interweave ſo many of the remarkable events which happened about the ſame time in other parts of Europe, as to render his Hiſtory of Charles V. the moſt inſtructive introduction that has yet appeared to the general hiſtory of that

age. The advantage of making the tranſactions of a particular nation, and ſtill more the reign of a particular ſovereign, a groundwork for ſuch comprehenſive views of human affairs, is ſufficiently obvious. By carrying on a connected ſeries of important events, and indicating their relations to the contemporary hiſtory of mankind, a *meridian* is traced (if I may uſe the expreſſion,) through the vaſt and crowded map of time; and a line of reference is exhibited to the mind, for marking the bearings of thoſe ſubordinate occurrences, in the multiplicity of which its powers would have been loſt.

In undertaking a work on a plan ſo philoſophical in the deſign, but ſo difficult in the execution, no period, perhaps, in the hiſtory of the world, could have been more happily choſen than that which commences with the ſixteenth century; in the courſe of which, (as he himſelf obſerves,) "the ſeveral powers of Europe were "formed into one great political ſyſtem, "in which each took a ſtation, wherein "it has ſince remained with leſs altera-

"tion

" tion than could have been expected, after " the ſhocks occaſioned by ſo many in- " ternal revolutions and ſo many foreign " wars."

Mr. Hume, in a letter which I had occaſion already to quote, objects to him that " his Hero is not very intereſting," and it muſt undoubtedly be acknowledged, that the characteriſtical qualities of his mind were leſs thoſe of an amiable man than of a great Prince. His character, however, on the whole, was ſingularly adapted to Dr. Robertſon's purpoſe; not only as the aſcendant it ſecured to him in the political world marks him out indiſputably as the principal figure in that illuſtrious groupe which then appeared on the Theatre of Europe, but as it everywhere diſplays that deep and ſagacious policy, which, by ſyſtematizing his counſels, and linking together the great events of his reign, inſpires a conſtant intereſt, if not for the perſonal fortunes of the man, at leaſt for the magnificent projects of the politician.—Nor is the character of Charles, however unamiable, without a certain ſpecies of attraction.

The

The reader who is previouſly acquainted with the laſt ſcenes of his enterpriſing and brilliant life, while he follows him through the ſplendid career of his ambition, can ſcarcely avoid to indulge occaſionally thoſe moral ſympathies which the contraſt awakens; and to borrow from the ſolitude of the cloiſter ſome prophetic touches, to ſoften the ſternneſs of the Warrior and the Stateſman.

With a view to facilitate the ſtudy of this important portion of modern hiſtory, Dr. Robertſon has employed a preliminary volume in tracing the progreſs of ſociety in Europe, from the ſubverſion of the Roman Empire to the æra at which his narrative commences. In this inſtance, as well as in the firſt book of his Scottiſh Hiſtory, he has ſanctioned by his example a remark of Father Paul, that an hiſtorical compoſition ſhould be as complete as poſſible in itſelf; exhibiting a ſeries of events intelligible to every reader, without any reference to other ſources of information. On the minuteneſs and accuracy of Dr. Robertſon's reſearches concerning the ſtate

of Europe during the middle ages, I do not preſume to offer an opinion. They certainly exhibit marks of very extenſive and various reading, digeſted with the ſoundeſt judgment; and of which the reſults appear to be arranged in the moſt diſtinct and luminous order. At the time when he wrote, ſuch an arrangement of materials was the grand *deſideratum*, and by far the moſt arduous taſk; nor will the merit of having firſt brought into form a maſs of information ſo little acceſſible till then to ordinary readers, be ever affected by the controverſies that may ariſe concerning the juſtneſs of particular concluſions. If, in ſome of theſe, he has been cenſured as haſty by later writers, it muſt be remembered how much their labours were facilitated by what he did to open a field for their minuter diligence; and that, by the ſcrupulous exactneſs with which he refers to his authorities, he has himſelf furniſhed the means of correcting his errors. One thing is certain, (and it affords no inconſiderable teſtimony both to the felicity of his choice in the various hiſtorical ſubjects he undertook,

took, and to the extent of his reſearches in the inveſtigation of facts,) that the moſt acute and able of all his adverſaries * was guided by Dr. Robertſon's example in almoſt all his literary undertakings; and that his curioſity has ſeldom led him into any path, where the genius and induſtry of his predeceſſor had not previouſly cleared the way.

In no part of Dr. Robertſon's works has he diſplayed more remarkably than in this introductory volume, his patience in reſearch; his penetration and good ſenſe in ſelecting his information; or that comprehenſion of mind, which, without being miſled by ſyſtem, can combine, with diſtinctneſs and taſte, the dry and ſcattered details of antient monuments. In truth, this Diſſertation, under the unaſſuming title of an Introduction to the Hiſtory of Charles V. may be regarded as an introduction to the Hiſtory of Modern Europe. It is invaluable, in this reſpect, to the hiſtorical ſtudent; and it ſuggeſts, in every page,

* Dr. Gilbert Stuart.

matter

matter of ſpeculation to the politician and the philoſopher.

It will not, I hope, be imputed to me as a blameable inſtance of national vanity, if I conclude this Section with remarking the rapid progreſs that has been made in our own country during the laſt fifty years, in tracing the origin and progreſs of the preſent eſtabliſhments in Europe. Monteſquieu undoubtedly led the way; but much has been done ſince the publication of his works, by authors whoſe names are enrolled among the members of this ſociety. "On this intereſting ſubject," (ſays Mr. Gibbon,) "a ſtrong "ray of philoſophic light has broke from "Scotland in our own times; and it is with "private as well as public regard, that I "repeat the names of Hume, Robertſon, "and Adam Smith *." It was, indeed, a ſubject worthy of their genius; for, in the whole hiſtory of human affairs, no ſpectacle occurs ſo wonderful in itſelf, or ſo momentous in its effects, as the growth of that ſyſtem which took its riſe from the conqueſts

* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. lxi.

of

of the Barbarians. In conſequence of theſe, the weſtern parts of Europe were overſpread with a thick night of ſuperſtition and ignorance, which laſted nearly a thouſand years; yet this event, which had at firſt ſo unpromiſing an aſpect, laid the foundation of a ſtate of ſociety far more favourable to the general and permanent happineſs of the human race than any which the world had hitherto ſeen;—a ſtate of ſociety which required many ages to bring it to that condition which it has now attained, and which will probably require ages more to beſtow on it all the perfection of which it ſeems to be gradually ſuſceptible. By dividing Europe into a number of large monarchies, agreeing with each other in their fundamental inſtitutions, but differing in the nature both of their moral and phyſical advantages; and poſſeſſing, at the ſame time, ſuch meaſures of relative force as to render them objects of mutual reſpect; it multiplied the chances of human improvement;—ſecured a mutual communication of lights among vaſt political communities all of them fitted to contribute

their

their reſpective ſhares to the common ſtock of knowledge and refinement:—and ſheltered ſcience and civilization, till they had time to ſtrike their roots ſo deep, and to ſcatter their ſeeds ſo wide, that their final progreſs over the whole globe can now be checked only by ſome calamity fatal to the ſpecies.

SECTION III.

Continuation of the ſame Subject.—HISTORY OF AMERICA.

AFTER an interval of eight years from the publication of Charles the Fifth, Dr. Robertſon produced the Hiſtory of America;—a work which, by the variety of reſearch and of ſpeculation that it exhibits, enables us to form a ſufficient idea of the manner in which he had employed the intervening period.

In undertaking this taſk, the Author's original intention was only to complete his account of the great events connected with the reign of Charles V.; but perceiving, as he advanced, that a Hiſtory of America, confined ſolely to the operations and concerns of the Spaniards, would not be likely to excite a very general intereſt, he reſolved to include in his plan the tranſactions of

all the European nations in the New World. The origin and progreſs of the Britiſh Empire there, he deſtined for the ſubject of one entire volume; but afterwards abandoned, or rather ſuſpended the execution of this part of his deſign, for reaſons mentioned in his Preface.

In the view which I have hitherto given of Dr. Robertſon's literary purſuits, I have endeavoured not only to glean all the ſcanty information which his papers ſupply, concerning the progreſs of his ſtudies, but to collect whatever memorials they afford of his intercourſe with thoſe, to whom he appears to have been more peculiarly attached by ſentiments of eſteem or of friendſhip. In following this plan, while I have attempted (in conformity to the precept of an eloquent Critic*) to add to the intereſt of my narrative "by ſurrounding the ſubject of it with his Contemporaries," I have aimed alſo to ſelect ſuch paſſages from the letters of his correſpondents, as were at once calculated to illuſtrate

* Abbé Maury.

the characters of the writers, and to reflect ſome light on that of the perſon to whom they are addreſſed. It appeared to me to be poſſible to convey in this manner a livelier and juſter idea of the more delicate features of their minds, than by any deſcription however circumſtantial; and at the ſame time, to avoid, by a proper diſcrimination in the ſelection of materials, thoſe frivolous or degrading details, which, in the preſent times, are ſo frequently preſented to the public by the indiſcretion of editors. The epiſtolary fragments, accordingly, interwoven with my own compoſition have all a reference to the peculiar object of this Memoir; and I cannot help indulging a hope, that they will amply compenſate, by the value they poſſeſs as authentic relics of the individuals whoſe friendſhips they record, for the treſpaſſes they have occaſioned againſt that unity of ſtyle which the rules of criticiſm enjoin.

In the farther proſecution of this ſubject, I ſhall adhere to the ſame general plan; without, however, affecting that minuteneſs

of illuſtration which I was anxious to beſtow on the firſt ſteps of Dr. Robertſon's literary progreſs. The circle of his acquaintance, beſides, was now ſo extended, and the congratulations which his works drew to him ſo multiplied, that my choice muſt neceſſarily be limited to the letters of thoſe whoſe names render their judgments of men and books objects of public curioſity. The Society will regret with me, that among theſe correſpondents the name of Mr. Hume is not to be found. He died in the year 1776; the year immediately preceding that in which the Hiſtory of America was publiſhed *.

Mr. Gibbon made his firſt appearance as an Hiſtorian a few months before Mr. Hume's death, and began a correſpondence with Dr. Robertſon the year following. A letter, dated from Paris, 14th July 1777, in acknowledgment of a preſent of Dr. Robertſon's book, appears plainly from the contents to have been one of the firſt that paſſed between them.

* Appendix, Note E.

"When

" When I ventured to aſſume the cha-
" racter of Hiſtorian, the firſt, the moſt
" natural, but at the ſame time the moſt
" ambitious wiſh which I entertained was
" to deſerve the approbation of Dr. Robert-
" ſon and Mr. Hume, two names which
" friendſhip united, and which poſterity
" will never ſeparate. I ſhall not therefore
" attempt to diſſemble, though I cannot
" eaſily expreſs, the honeſt pleaſure which
" I received from your obliging letter, as
" well as from the intelligence of your
" moſt valuable preſent. The ſatisfaction
" which I ſhould otherwiſe have enjoyed
" in common with the public, will now be
" heightened by a ſentiment of a more
" perſonal and flattering nature; and I
" ſhall often whiſper to myſelf that I have
" in ſome degree obtained the eſteem of the
" Writer whom I admire.

" A ſhort excurſion which I have made
" to this place during the ſummer months,
" has occaſioned ſome delay in my receiv-
" ing your letter, and will prevent me
" from [illegible] till my return, the copy

21163

" of your Hiſtory, which you ſo politely
" deſired Mr. Strahan to ſend me. But
" I have already gratified the eagerneſs
" of my curioſity and impatience; and
" though I was obliged to return the book
" much ſooner than I could have wiſhed,
" I have ſeen enough to convince me that
" the preſent publication will ſupport, and,
" if poſſible, extend the fame of the Au-
" thor; that the materials are collected
" with care, and arranged with ſkill; that
" the progreſs of diſcovery is diſplayed
" with learning and perſpicuity; that the
" dangers, the atchievements, and the
" views of the Spaniſh adventurers, are
" related with a temperate ſpirit; and that
" the moſt original, perhaps the moſt
" curious portion of human manners, is
" at length reſcued from the hands of
" ſophiſts and declaimers. Lord Stormont,
" and the few in this capital who have had
" an opportunity of peruſing the Hiſtory
" of America, unanimouſly concur in the
" ſame ſentiments; your work is already
" become a favourite ſubject of converſa-
tion,

" tion, and M. Suard is repeatedly preſſed, " in my hearing, to fix the time when his " tranſlation will appear *."

In moſt of the other letters received by Dr. Robertſon on this occaſion, I have not remarked any thing very intereſting. Mr. Walpole is liberal, as formerly, in his praiſe, but does not enter ſo much into particular criticiſms; and as for his other correſpondents (among whom were various names of the firſt diſtinction in the kingdom,) the greater part of them were probably reſtrained, by motives of delicacy, from offering any thing more than general expreſſions of admiration, to a Writer whoſe fame was now ſo fully eſtabliſhed. A letter from William Lord Mansfield, though it bears no marks of the ſuperior mind of that eminent man, is valuable at leaſt as a teſtimony of his reſpect for Dr. Robertſon: nor

* The letter from which the foregoing paſſage is extracted has been already publiſhed by Lord Sheffield in the poſthumous works of Mr. Gibbon. As the copy found among Dr. Robertſon's papers correſponds *verbatim* with that which Mr. Gibbon appears to have retained in his own poſſeſſion, it affords a proof of the care which he beſtowed on his epiſtolary compoſitions.

will it, perhaps, when contraſted with the ſplendor of his profeſſional exertions, be altogether unacceptable to thoſe who have a pleaſure in ſtudying the varieties and the limits of human genius.

" I delayed returning you my warmeſt " acknowledgments for your moſt valuable " preſent, till I could ſay that I had enjoyed " it. Since my return from the circuit I " have read it with infinite pleaſure. It " is inferior to none of your works, which " is ſaying a great deal. No man will now " doubt but that you have done judiciouſly " in making this an entire ſeparate work, " and detaching it from the general Hiſtory. " Your account of the ſcience of Naviga- " tion and Naval diſcovery is admirable, " and equal to any Hiſtorical Map of the " kind. If I knew a pen equal to it, I " would adviſe the continuation down to " the next arrival of Captain Cook. " Nothing could be more entertaining or " more inſtructive. It is curious that all " great diſcoveries are made, as it were by " accident, when men are in ſearch of " ſomething elſe. I learn from you that

" Columbus

" Columbus did not, as a philoſopher, de-
" monſtrate to himſelf that there muſt be
" ſuch a portion of the earth as America
" is, but that meaning to go to the Eaſt
" Indies, he ſtumbled on the Weſt. It is
" a more intereſting ſpeculation to conſider
" how little political wiſdom had to do,
" and how much has ariſen from chance,
" in the peopling, government, laws, and
" conſtitution of the New World. You
" ſhew it ſtrongly in the revolutions and
" ſettlement of Spaniſh America. I hope
" the time will come for fulfilling the en-
" gagement you allude to in the begin-
" ning of the preface. You will then ſhew
" how little political wiſdom had to do
" in forming the original ſettlements of
" Engliſh America. Government left pri-
" vate adventurers to do as they pleaſed,
" and certainly did not ſee in any degree
" the conſequence of the object."

One letter containing the judgment of an Author who is ſuppoſed to have employed his own abilities in a very maſterly ſketch on the ſame ſubject, I ſhall publiſh entire.

entire. It is long for a quotation; but I will not mutilate what comes from the pen of Mr. Burke.

"I am perfectly ſenſible of the very "flattering diſtinction I have received in "your thinking me worthy of ſo noble a "preſent as that of your Hiſtory of Ame-"rica. I have, however, ſuffered my gra-"titude to lie under ſome ſuſpicion, by "delaying my acknowledgment of ſo great "a favour. But my delay was only to "render my obligation to you more com-"plete, and my thanks, if poſſible, more "merited. The cloſe of the ſeſſion brought "a great deal of very troubleſome, though "not important buſineſs on me at once. "I could not go through your work at one "breath at that time, though I have done "it ſince. I am now enabled to thank "you, not only for the honour you have "done me, but for the great ſatisfaction, "and the infinite variety and compaſs of "inſtruction I have received from your "incomparable work. Every thing has "been done which was ſo naturally to be "expected from the Author of the Hiſtory

"of

" of Scotland, and of the age of Charles " the Fifth. I believe few books have " done more than this, towards clearing " up dark points, correcting errors, and " removing prejudices. You have too " the rare ſecret of rekindling an intereſt " on ſubjects that had ſo often been treated, " and in which every thing which could " feed a vital flame appeared to have been " conſumed. I am ſure I read many parts " of your Hiſtory with that freſh concern " and anxiety which attend thoſe who are " not previouſly appriſed of the event. " You have beſides, thrown quite a new " light on the preſent ſtate of the Spaniſh " provinces, and furniſhed both materials " and hints for a rational theory of what " may be expected from them in future.

" The part which I read with the greateſt " pleaſure is, the diſcuſſion on the man- " ners and character of the inhabitants of " that New World. I have always thought " with you, that we poſſeſs at this time " very great advantages towards the know- " ledge of human nature. We need no " longer go to Hiſtory to trace it in all

" ſtages

" ſtages and periods. Hiſtory, from its " comparative youth, is but a poor in- " ſtructor. When the Egyptians called " the Grecks Children in Antiquities, we " may well call them Children; and ſo we " may call all thoſe nations which were " able to trace the progreſs of ſociety only " within their own limits. But now the " great Map of Mankind is unrolled at " once, and there is no ſtate or gradation " of barbariſm, and no mode of refine- " ment which we have not at the ſame " moment under our view: the very dif- " ferent civility of Europe and of China; " the barbariſm of Perſia and of Abyſſinia; " the erratick manners of Tartary and of " Arabia; the ſavage ſtate of North Ame- " rica and of New Zealand. Indeed you " have made a noble uſe of the advan- " tages you have had. You have employed " philoſophy to judge on manners, and " from manners you have drawn new " reſources for philoſophy. I only think " that in one or two points you have " hardly done juſtice to the ſavage cha- " racter.

" There

" There remains before you a great field. " *Periculoſæ plenum opus aleæ Tractas, et* " *incedis per ignes. Suppoſitos cineri doloſo.* " When even thoſe aſhes will be ſpread " over the preſent fire, God knows. I am " heartily ſorry that we are now ſupplying " you with that kind of dignity and con- " cern, which is purchaſed to Hiſtory at " the expence of mankind. I had rather " by far that Dr. Robertſon's pen were " only employed in delineating the humble " ſcenes of political œconomy, than the " great events of a civil war. However, " if our ſtateſmen had read the book of " human nature inſtead of the Journals of " the Houſe of Commons, and Hiſtory " inſtead of Acts of Parliament, we ſhould " not by the latter have furniſhed out ſo " ample a page for the former. For my " part, I have not been, nor am I very " forward in my ſpeculations on this ſub- " ject. All that I have ventured to make " have hitherto proved fallacious. I con- " feſs, I thought the Colonies left to them- " ſelves could not have made any thing " like the preſent reſiſtance to the whole " power

" power of this country and its allies. I " did not think it could have been done " without the declared interference of the " Houſe of Bourbon. But I looked on it " as very probable that France and Spain " would before this time have taken a " decided part. In both theſe conjectures " I have judged amiſs.—You will ſmile " when I ſend you a trifling temporary " production, made for the occaſion of a " day, and to periſh with it, in return for " your immortal work. But our exchange " reſembles the politics of the times. You " ſend out ſolid wealth, the accumulation " of ages, and in return you get a few " flying leaves of poor American paper. " However, you have the mercantile com- " fort of finding the balance of trade " infinitely in your favour; and I conſole " myſelf with the ſnug conſideration of " uninformed natural acuteneſs, that I " have my warehouſe full of goods at " another's expence.

" Adieu, Sir, continue to inſtruct the " world; and whilſt we carry on a poor " unequal conflict with the paſſions and " prejudices

" prejudices of our day, perhaps with no " better weapons than other paſſions and " prejudices of our own, convey wiſdom " at our expence to future generations."

After theſe teſtimonies to the excellence of the American Hiſtory, joined to twenty years' poſſeſſion of the public favour, it may perhaps be thought preſumption in me to interpoſe my own judgment with reſpect to its peculiar merits. I cannot help, however, remarking (what appears ſtill more characteriſtical of this than of any of Dr. Robertſon's other works) the comprehenſive ſurvey which he has taken of his vaſt and various ſubject, and the ſkilful arrangement by which he has beſtowed connection and ſymmetry on a maſs of materials ſo ſhapeleſs and disjointed. The penetration and ſagacity diſplayed in his delineation of ſavage manners, and the unbiaſſed good ſenſe with which he has contraſted that ſtate of ſociety with civilized life, (a ſpeculation in the proſecution of which ſo many of his predeceſſors had loſt themſelves in vague declamation or in paradoxical refinement,) have been much

and

and deſervedly admired. His induſtry alſo and accuracy in collecting information with reſpect to the Spaniſh ſyſtem of colonial policy, have received warm praiſe from his friends and from the public. But what perhaps does no leſs honour to the powers of his mind than any of theſe particulars is, the ability and addreſs with which he has treated ſome topics that did not fall within the ordinary ſphere of his ſtudies; more eſpecially thoſe which border on the province of the natural hiſtorian. In the conſideration of theſe, although we may perhaps, in one or two inſtances, have room to regret that he had not been ſtill more completely prepared for the undertaking by previous habits of ſcientific diſquiſition, we uniformly find him intereſting and inſtructive in the information he conveys; and happy, beyond moſt Engliſh Writers, in the deſcriptive powers of his ſtyle. The ſpecies of deſcription too in which he excels is peculiarly adapted to his ſubject; diſtinguiſhed, not by thoſe picturesque touches which vie with the effects of the Pencil in preſenting local

ſcenery

ſcenery to the mind, but by an expreſſion, to which Language alone is equal, of the grand features of an unſubdued World. In theſe paſſages he diſcovers talents, as a Writer, different from any thing that appears in his other publications; a compaſs and richneſs of diction the more ſurpriſing, that the objects deſcribed were ſo little familiarized to his thoughts, and, in more than one inſtance, rivalling the majeſtic eloquence which deſtined Buffon to be the Hiſtorian of Nature.

After all, however, the principal charm of this, as well as of his other Hiſtories, ariſes from the graphical effect of his narrative, wherever his ſubject affords him materials for an intereſting picture. What force and beauty of painting in his circumſtantial details of the voyage of Columbus; of the firſt aſpect of the New Continent; and of the interviews of the natives with the Spaniſh adventurers! With what animation and fire does he follow the ſteps of Cortes through the varying fortunes of his vaſt and hazardous career; yielding, it muſt be owned, ſomewhat too much to the in-

fluence of the paſſions which his hero felt; but beſtowing, at the ſame time, the warm tribute of admiration and ſympathy on the virtues and fate of thoſe whom he ſubdued? The arts, the inſtitutions, and the manners of Europe and of America; but above all, the ſplendid characters of Cortes and of Guatimozin, enable him, in this part of his work, to add to its other attractions that of the fineſt contraſts which occur in Hiſtory.

On theſe and ſimilar occaſions, if I may be allowed to judge from what I experience in myſelf, he ſeizes more completely, than any other modern Hiſtorian, the attention of his reader, and tranſports him into the midſt of the tranſactions which he records. His own imagination was warm and vigorous; and, although in the conduct of life it gave no tincture of enthuſiaſm to his temper, yet, in the ſolitude of the cloſet, it attached him peculiarly to thoſe paſſages of hiſtory which approach to the romantic. Hence many of the characteriſtical beauties of his writings; and hence too, perhaps, ſome of their imperfections.

A cold

A cold and phlegmatic hiſtorian, who ſurveys human affairs like the inhabitant of a different planet, if his narrative ſhould ſometimes languiſh for want of intereſt, will at leaſt avoid thoſe prepoſſeſſions into which the Writer muſt occaſionally be betrayed, who, mingling with a ſympathetic ardour among the illuſtrious perſonages whoſe ſtory he contemplates, is liable, while he kindles with their generous emotions, to be infected by the contagion of their prejudices and paſſions.

Theſe effects, reſulting naturally from a warm imagination, were heightened in Dr. Robertſon by the vigour of an active and aſpiring mind. It was not from the indifference produced by indolence or abſtraction that he withdrew from the buſineſs of life to philoſophy and letters. He was formed for action no leſs than ſpeculation; and had fortune opened to him a field equal to his talents, he would have preferred, without heſitation, (if I do not greatly miſtake his character,) the purſuits of the former to thoſe of the latter. His ſtudies were all directed to the great ſcenes

of political exertion; and it was only becauſe he wanted an opportunity to ſuſtain a part in them himſelf, that he ſubmitted to be an Hiſtorian of the actions of others. In all his writings the influence of the circumſtances which I have now ſuggeſted may, I think, be traced; but in none of them is it ſo ſtrongly marked as in the Hiſtory of America. There he writes with the intereſt of one who had been himſelf an actor on the ſcene; giving an ideal range to his ambition among the aſtoniſhing events which he deſcribes.

Perhaps, indeed, it muſt be owned, on the other hand, that if the excellencies of this performance are on a ſcale commenſurate to the magnitude of the ſubject, it is in ſome reſpects more open to cenſure than any of his other productions. A partiality for the charms of eloquence and the originality of ſyſtem diſplayed in the writings of Buffon and de Paw;—a partiality natural to the enthuſiaſm of a congenial mind, has unqueſtionably produced a facility in the admiſſion of many of their aſſertions which are now claſſed with the prejudices of former

mer times. After allowing, however, to this charge all the weight it poſſeſſes, it ought to be remembered, in juſtice to Dr. Robertſon, what important additions have been made, ſince the time he wrote, to our knowledge both of America and of its aboriginal inhabitants; and that it is not from our preſent ſtock of information, but from what was then current in Europe, that an eſtimate can fairly be formed of the extent and accuracy of his reſearches. When he hazarded himſelf, like Columbus, in traverſing an unknown ocean, and in ſurveying a New World, much, it might be expected, would be left to reward the induſtry of future adventurers.—The diſpoſition he has ſhewn to palliate or to veil the enormities of the Spaniards in their American conqueſts, is a blemiſh of a deeper and more ſerious nature, to the impreſſion of which I muſt content myſelf with oppoſing thoſe warm and enlightened ſentiments of humanity which in general animate his writings. A late candid and well-informed Author, accordingly, after aſſerting that the conqueſt of the New

World was effected (on a low eſtimate) by the murdering of ten millions of the ſpecies, and that the accounts of this carnage are authenticated beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, ſuggeſts an apology for Dr. Robertſon by remarking, "That this is one "of thoſe melancholy paſſages in the "hiſtory of human nature, where a bene-"volent mind, ſhrinking from the con-"templation of facts, wiſhes to reſiſt "conviction, and to relieve itſelf by incre-"dulity *."

The Spaniſh nation were not inſenſible of what they owed to Dr. Robertſon for "the temperate ſpirit" (as Mr. Gibbon expreſſes it) with which he had related this portion of their ſtory. "On the 8th of "Auguſt 1777, he was unanimouſly elected "a member of the Royal Academy of Hiſ-"tory at Madrid; in teſtimony of their ap-"probation of the induſtry and care with "which he has applied to the ſtudy of "Spaniſh Hiſtory, and as a recompence "for his merit in having contributed ſo

* Bryan Edwards—Hiſtory of the Weſt Indies.

"much

" much to illuſtrate and ſpread the know-
" ledge of it in foreign countries." The Academy, at the ſame time, appointed one of its members to tranſlate the Hiſtory of America into Spaniſh; and it is believed that conſiderable progreſs had been made in the tranſlation, when the Spaniſh Government, judging it inexpedient that a work ſhould be made public, in which the nature of the trade with America, and the ſyſtem of Colonial adminiſtration were ſo fully explained, interpoſed its authority to ſtop the undertaking.

As the volumes which have been now under our review did not complete Dr. Robertſon's original deſign, he announced in the preface his intention to reſume the ſubject at a future period; ſuſpending, in the mean time, the execution of that part of his plan which related to the Britiſh ſettlements, " on account of the *ferment*
" which then agitated our North American
" Colonies." A fragment of this intended work, which has been publiſhed ſince his death, while it illuſtrates the perſevering

ardor of his mind, muſt excite a lively regret in all who read it, that a Hiſtory ſo peculiarly calculated by its ſubject to co-extend his fame with the future progreſs of our language in the regions beyond the Atlantic, had not been added to the other monuments of his genius.

The caution which Dr. Robertſon obſerved in his expreſſions concerning the American war, ſuggeſts ſome doubts about his ſentiments on that ſubject. In his letters to Mr. Strahan he writes with greater freedom, and ſometimes ſtates, without reſerve, his opinions of men and meaſures.

One or two of theſe paſſages (which I tranſcribe without any comment) appear to me to be objects of curioſity, as they illuſtrate Dr. Robertſon's political views; and I flatter myſelf they will now be read without offence, when the factions to which they allude are almoſt effaced from our recollection by the more intereſting events of a later period. I need ſcarcely premiſe,

miſe, that in quoting Dr. Robertſon's opinions I would by no means be underſtood to ſubſcribe to them as my own.

In a letter, dated October 6, 1775, he writes thus: "I agree with you in ſentiment about the affairs of America. Incapacity, or want of information, has led the people employed there to deceive Miniſtry. Truſting to them, they have been trifling for two years, when they ſhould have been ſerious, until they have rendered a very ſimple piece of buſineſs extremely perplexed. They have permitted colonies disjoined by nature and ſituation to conſolidate into a regular ſyſtematical confederacy; and when a few regiments ſtationed in each capital would have rendered it impoſſible for them to take arms, they have ſuffered them quietly to levy and train forces, as if they had not known and ſeen againſt whom they were prepared. But now we are fairly committed, and I do think it fortunate that the violence of the Americans has brought matters to a criſis too ſoon for themſelves. From the beginning

"of

" of the conteſt I have always aſſerted that " independence was their object. The " diſtinction between *taxation* and *regu-* " *lation* is mere folly. There is not an " argument againſt our right of taxing that " does not conclude with tenfold force " againſt our power of regulating their " trade. They may profeſs or diſclaim " what they pleaſe, and hold the language " that beſt ſuits their purpoſe; but if they " have any meaning, it muſt be that they " ſhould be free ſtates, connected with us " by blood, by habit, and by religion, but " at liberty to buy and ſell and trade where " and with whom they pleaſe. This they " will one day attain, but not juſt now, " if there be any degree of political wiſ- " dom or vigour remaining. At the ſame " time one cannot but regret that pro- " ſperous and growing ſtates ſhould be " checked in their career. As a lover of " mankind I bewail it; but as a ſubject of " Great Britain, I muſt wiſh that their " dependence on it ſhould continue. If " the wiſdom of Government can termi- " nate the conteſt with honour inſtantly,

" that

"that would be the moſt deſirable iſſue. "This, however, I take to be *now* im-"poſſible; and I will venture to foretel, "that if our leaders do not at once exert "the power of the Britiſh Empire in its "full force, the ſtruggle will be long, du-"bious, and diſgraceful. We are paſt the "hour of lenitives and half exertions. If "the conteſt be protracted, the ſmalleſt "interruption of the tranquillity that now "reigns in Europe, or even the appearance "of it, may be fatal.

"It is lucky that my American Hiſtory "was not finiſhed before this event. How "many plauſible theories that I ſhould "have been entitled to form, are contra-"dicted by what has now happened!"

To this extract, I ſhall only add a few ſentences from a letter written to the ſame correſpondent about the affairs of America, nine years before, at the time of the repeal of the Stamp-Act.

"I am glad to hear the determination "of the Houſe of Commons concerning "the Stamp-Act. I rejoice, from my

"love

" love of the human ſpecies, that a million
" of men in America have ſome chance of
" running the ſame great career which
" other free people have held before them.
" I do not apprehend revolution or inde-
" pendence ſooner than theſe muſt and
" ſhould come. A very little ſkill and
" attention in the art of governing may
" preſerve the ſupremacy of Britain as long
" as it ought to be preſerved. You can do
" me no favour more obliging, than that of
" writing me often an account of all oc-
" currences in the debates on this affair.
" I am much intereſted in the ſubject;
" very little in the men who act on either
" ſide. I am not weak enough greatly to
" admire their virtues, nor ſo factious as
" to adopt their paſſions."

SECTION IV.

Continuation of the ſame Subject—HISTORICAL DISQUISITION CONCERNING INDIA.—*General Remarks on Dr. Robertſon's Merits as an Hiſtorian.*

IN conſequence of the interruption of Dr. Robertſon's plans produced by the American Revolution, he was led to think of ſome other ſubject which might, in the mean time, give employment to his ſtudious leiſure. A letter, dated July 1778, to his friend the Rev. Mr. Waddilove, (now Dean of Rippon,) contains ſome important information with reſpect to his deſigns at this period.

"The ſtate of our affairs in North Ame-
" rica is not ſuch as to invite me to go on
" with my Hiſtory of the New World.
" I muſt wait for times of greater tran-
" quillity,

" quillity, when I can write and the public
" can read with more impartiality and bet-
" ter information than at preſent. Every
" perſon with whom I converſed in Lon-
" don confirmed me in my reſolution of
" making a pauſe for a little, until it ſhall
" be known in what manner the ferment
" will ſubſide. But as it is neither my
" inclination nor intereſt to be altogether
" idle, many of my friends have ſuggeſted
" to me a new ſubject, the Hiſtory of
" Great Britain from the Revolution to
" the Acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover.
" It will be ſome ſatisfaction to me to
" enter on a domeſtic ſubject, after being
" engaged ſo long on foreign ones, where
" one half of my time and labour were
" employed in teaching myſelf to under-
" ſtand manners, and laws, and forms
" which I was to explain to others. You
" know better than any body how much
" pains I beſtowed in ſtudying the conſti-
" tution, the manners, and the commerce
" of Spaniſh America. The Review con-
" tained in the firſt volume of Charles V.
" was founded on reſearches ſtill more
" laborious.

" laborious. I ſhall not be involved in
" the ſame painful enquiries, if I under-
" take the preſent work. I poſſeſs already
" as much knowledge of the Britiſh govern-
" ment and laws as uſually is poſſeſſed by
" other perſons who have been well edu-
" cated and have lived in good company.
" A minute inveſtigation of facts will be
" the chief object of my attention. With
" reſpect to theſe, I ſhall be much aided by
" the original papers publiſhed by Sir John
" Dalrymple and Macpherſon, and lately
" by Lord Hardwicke. The Memoirs of
" Noailles, concerning the French nego-
" tiations in Spain, contain very curious
" information. I have got a very valuable
" collection of papers from the Duke of
" Montague, which belonged to the Duke
" of Shrewſbury, and I am promiſed the
" large collection of the Duke of Marl-
" borough, which were formerly in the
" hands of Mr. Mallet. From theſe and
" other materials I hope to write a Hiſ-
" tory which may be both entertaining
" and inſtructive. I know that I ſhall
" get upon dangerous ground, and muſt
" relate

" relate events concerning which our poli-
" tical factions entertain very different ſen-
" timents. But I am little alarmed with
" this. I flatter myſelf that I have temper
" enough to judge with impartiality; and
" if, after examining with candour, I do
" give offence, there is no man whoſe
" ſituation is more independent."

Whatever the motives were which induced him to relinquiſh this project, it is certain that it did not long occupy his thoughts. From a letter of Mr. Gibbon, it would appear to have been abandoned before the end of the year 1779. The paſſage is intereſting, not only as it ſerves to aſcertain the fact, but as it ſuggeſts a valuable hint with reſpect to a different hiſtorical ſubject.

" I remember a kind of engagement you
" had contracted to repeat your viſit to
" London every ſecond year, and I look
" forwards with pleaſure to next ſpring
" when your bond will naturally become
" due. I ſhould almoſt hope that you
" would bring with you ſome fruits of
" your leiſure, had I not been informed

" that you had totally relinquiſhed your
" deſign of continuing Mr. Hume's Hiſ-
" tory of England. Notwithſtanding the
" juſt and deep ſenſe which I muſt entertain
" (if the intelligence be true) of our public
" loſs, I have ſcarcely courage enough to
" blame you. The want of materials and
" the danger of offence are two formidable
" obſtacles for an Hiſtorian who wiſhes to
" inſtruct, and who is determined not to
" betray his readers.—But if you leave the
" narrow limits of our iſland, there ſtill
" remain, without returning to the troubled
" ſcene of America, many ſubjects not
" unworthy of your genius. Will you
" give me leave, as a vague and indigeſted
" hint, to ſuggeſt the Hiſtory of the Pro-
" teſtants in France; the events are im-
" portant in themſelves, and intimately
" connected with the great Revolutions of
" Europe: ſome of the boldeſt or moſt
" amiable characters of modern times, the
" Admiral Coligny, Henry IV. &c. would
" be your peculiar heroes; the materials
" are copious, and authentic, and acceſſible;
" and the objects appear to ſtand at that

" juſt diſtance which excites curioſity with-
" out inſpiring paſſion. Excuſe the free-
" dom, and weigh the merits (if any) of
" this propoſal *."

As I have had very little acceſs to ſee any of Dr. Robertſon's anſwers to the letters of his correſpondents, I am ignorant what reply he made to this ſuggeſtion of Mr. Gibbon, as well as of the circumſtances that induced him to lay aſide his plans with reſpect to the Hiſtory of England. It is impoſſible, however, not to feel much regret that he did not carry them into execution. In ſpite of the obſtacles which Mr. Gibbon mentions, there can be little doubt that the work would have been an important acceſſion to Engliſh literature; and, in all probability, from the intereſting nature of the ſubject, the moſt popular of his performances. The intrigues of the different factions during the reign of Queen Anne would have afforded an ample field for the exerciſe of his cool and diſcriminating judgment; the campaigns of Marl-

* Appendix, Note F.

borough

borough deſerved ſuch an Hiſtorian; while the literature and philoſophy of that memorable period would have given full employment to thoſe critical powers which he ſo eminently poſſeſſed, and of which he has unfortunately left no monument behind him. The ſlight ſketches of this kind, interſperſed with the narrative of Mr. Hume's Hiſtory, have always been favourite paſſages with readers of taſte; and, if I may be permitted to judge from Dr. Robertſon's converſation, he would not, in this ſpecies of compoſition, have been ſurpaſſed by any of his contemporaries.

I have not heard of any other work that he projected after this period. He ſeems indeed ſoon to have abandoned all thoughts of writing any more for the public, and to have indulged the idea of proſecuting his ſtudies in future for his private amuſement. His circumſtances were independent: he was approaching to the age of ſixty with a conſtitution conſiderably impaired by a ſedentary life; and a long application to

the compoſitions he had prepared for the preſs, had interfered with much of the gratification he might have enjoyed, if he had been at liberty to follow the impulſe of his own taſte and curioſity. Such a ſacrifice muſt be more or leſs made by all who devote themſelves to letters, whether with a view to emolument or to fame; nor would it perhaps be eaſy to make it, were it not for the proſpect (ſeldom, alas! realized,) of earning by their exertions, that learned and honourable leiſure which he was ſo fortunate as to attain. He retired from the buſineſs of the eccleſiaſtical courts about the ſame time; and, for ſeven or eight years, divided the hours which he could ſpare from his profeſſional duties, between the luxury of reading and the converſation of his friends.

The activity of his mind, in the mean time, continued unimpaired; and the habits of ſtudy he had ſo long been accuſtomed to, gave a certain ſcope and connection even to his hiſtorical recreations. To one of theſe, which, from its accidental connection with

with ſome of his former works, engaged his attention more cloſely than his ordinary purſuits, the public is indebted for a valuable performance, of which the materials ſeem almoſt inſenſibly to have ſwelled to a volume, long after his moſt intimate friends imagined that he had renounced all thoughts of the preſs. The Diſquiſition concerning Ancient India, which cloſed his hiſtorical labours, took its riſe (as he himſelf informs us) "from the peruſal of Major Rennell's "Memoir for illuſtrating his Map of In-"doſtan. This ſuggeſted to him the idea "of examining, more fully than he had "done in the introductory book to his "Hiſtory of America, into the knowledge "which the Ancients had of that country, "and of conſidering what is certain, what "is obſcure, and what is fabulous, in the "accounts of it which they have handed "down to us."—"In undertaking this "enquiry," (he adds,) "he had originally "no other object than his own amuſement "and inſtruction; but in carrying it on, "and conſulting with care the authors of "antiquity, ſome facts hitherto unobſerved,

" and many which had not been examined
" with proper attention, occurred; new
" views opened; his ideas gradually ex-
" tended, and became more intereſting;
" till at length he imagined that the reſult
" of his reſearches might prove amuſing
" and inſtructive to others."

Such is the account given by himſelf of the origin and progreſs of a diſquiſition begun in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and in twelve months brought to a concluſion; exhibiting, nevertheleſs, in every part, a diligence in reſearch, a ſoundneſs of judgment, and a perſpicuity of method, not inferior to thoſe which diſtinguiſh his other performances. From the nature of the ſubject it was impoſſible to render it equally amuſing to ordinary readers, or to beſtow on his language the ſame ſplendor and variety; but the ſtyle poſſeſſes all the characteriſtical beauties of his former compoſitions, as far as they could with propriety be introduced into a diſcourſe, of which the general deſign excluded every ſuperfluous and ambitious ornament. The obſervations in the *Appendix*, upon the character,

character, the manners, and the inſtitutions of the people of India, preſent a valuable outline of all the moſt important information concerning them, which was then acceſſible to the philoſophers of Europe; and, if they have already loſt part of their intereſt, in conſequence of the aſtoniſhing diſcoveries which have been ſince brought to light in Aſia, by a fortunate and unexampled combination of genius, learning, and official rank, in a few individuals whoſe names do honour to this country; they, at leaſt, evince that ardent and enlightened curioſity which animated the Author's enquiries in his moſt advanced years; and afford a proof, that his mind kept pace, to the laſt, with the progreſs of hiſtorical knowledge.

In theſe obſervations too, we may occaſionally trace the influence of ſtill higher motives; to which he has himſelf alluded, with an affecting ſolemnity, in the laſt ſentences which he addreſſed to the public. "If I had aimed" (ſays he) "at nothing "elſe than to deſcribe the civil polity, the "arts, the ſciences, and religious inſtitu-

" tions, of one of the moſt ancient and moſt
" numerous races of men, that alone would
" have led me into enquiries and diſcuſſions
" both curious and inſtructive. I own,
" however, that I have all along kept in
" view an object more intereſting, as well
" as of greater importance; and entertain
" hopes, that if the account which I have
" given of the early and high civiliſation
" of India, and of the wonderful progreſs
" of its inhabitants in elegant arts and
" uſeful ſcience, ſhall be received as juſt
" and well eſtabliſhed, it may have ſome
" influence upon the behaviour of Eu-
" ropeans towards that people. It was by
" an impartial and candid enquiry into
" their manners, that the Emperor Akber
" was led to conſider the Hindoos as no
" leſs entitled to protection and favour than
" his other ſubjects; and to govern them
" with ſuch equity and mildneſs, as to
" merit from a grateful people the honour-
" able appellation of 'the Guardian of
" Mankind.' If I might preſume to hope,
" that the deſcription I have given of the
" manners and inſtitutions of the people

" of

" of India could contribute in the ſmalleſt
" degree, and with the moſt remote influ-
" ence, to render their character more
" reſpectable, and their condition more
" happy, I ſhould cloſe my literary labours
" with the ſatisfaction of thinking that I
" have not lived or written in vain *."

In concluding this general review of Dr. Robertſon's publications, our attention is naturally led, in the firſt place, to the extent and variety of his hiſtorical reſearches. In this reſpect, he has certainly not been ſurpaſſed by any writer of the preſent times; nor would it perhaps be eaſy to name another who has united to ſo luminous an arrangement of his materials, and ſuch maſterly ſkill in adorning them, an equal degree of induſtry and exactneſs in tracing them to their original ſources. After a minute examination of the moſt diſputed paſſages of his firſt performance,

* Appendix, Note G.

a late

a late author * has ventured to pronounce him, "the moſt faithful of Hiſtorians;" and I have no doubt that this honourable appellation will be ſanctioned by thoſe who ſhall examine his other works with the ſame acuteneſs, accuracy, and candour.

In the art of narration too, which, next to correctneſs in the ſtatement of facts, is the moſt eſſential qualification of an Hiſtorian, Dr. Robertſon's ſkill is pre-eminent: perhaps I might venture to ſay, that in this art, his chief and characteriſtical excellence as an Hiſtorian conſiſts. I do not, at preſent, allude merely to the richneſs of colouring with which he occaſionally arreſts the attention; but to the diſtinctneſs, perſpicuity, and fulneſs, with which he uniformly communicates hiſtorical information; carefully avoiding every reference to whatever previous knowledge of the ſubject his reader may accidentally poſſeſs. In this diſtinctneſs and perſpicuity, ſo conſpicuous in the great models

* Mr. Laing.

of

of antiquity, ſome modern writers of unqueſtionable talents have failed to a degree which renders all their other merits of little value;—a failure more particularly obſervable, ſince it became faſhionable, after the example of Voltaire, to connect with the view of political tranſactions, an examination of their effects on the manners and condition of mankind, and to blend the lights of philoſophy with the appropriate beauties of hiſtorical compoſition. In conſequence of this innovation, while the province of the Hiſtorian has been enlarged and dignified, the difficulty of his taſk has encreaſed in the ſame proportion; reduced, as he muſt frequently be, to the alternative, either of interrupting unſeaſonably the chain of events, or, by interweaving diſquiſition and narrative together, of ſacrificing clearneſs to brevity. By few writers of the preſent age has this combination of philoſophy with hiſtory been more frequently attempted than by Dr. Robertſon; and by none have the inconveniences which it threatens been more

more ſucceſsfully avoided. In the former reſpect his merit is great; but in the latter, he may be ſafely propoſed as a pattern for imitation.

Nor does the beauty of his narrative conſiſt only in the luminous diſtinctneſs, and pictureſque ſelection of his details. In a paſſage formerly quoted from one of Mr. Walpole's letters, it is mentioned, among the other recommendations of the Hiſtory of Scotland, that, "although com-" poſed of pieces of information, each of " which would make a ſeparate memoir, " yet the whole is hurried on into one " uninterrupted ſtory." The remark is juſt, and it points at an excellence of the higheſt order, conſpicuous in all Dr. Robertſon's publications; the continuity which unites together the different parts of his ſubject, in conſequence of the addreſs and felicity diſplayed in his tranſitions. It is this laſt circumſtance which beſtows on his works that unceaſing intereſt which conſtitutes one of the principal charms in tales of fiction; an intereſt eaſy to ſupport in relating a ſeries of imaginary

ginary adventures, but which, in hiſtorical compoſition, evinces, more than any thing elſe, the hand of a maſter.

The attainment of theſe different perfections was undoubtedly much facilitated by the plan which he adopted, of throwing into the form of Notes and Illuſtrations, whatever critical or ſcientific diſcuſſions appeared to him to interfere with the peculiar province of hiſtory. In one of the laſt converſations I had with him, he mentioned this as an improvement of conſiderable importance in hiſtorical writing; and his final judgment on the ſubject will be allowed to have great weight in favour of that mode of arrangement which he adopted. On this point, I know, there is a wide diverſity of opinion: nor do I think myſelf entitled to pronounce with confidence upon either ſide, where the beſt judges have heſitated in their deciſion. Our late excellent colleague Mr. Smith carried to ſuch a length his partiality to the ancient forms of claſſical compoſition, that he conſidered every ſpecies of note as a blemiſh or imperfection;

fection; indicating, either an idle accumulation of ſuperfluous particulars, or a want of ſkill and comprehenſion in the general deſign. Dr. Douglas too, the preſent Biſhop of Saliſbury, in a letter addreſſed to Dr. Robertſon on occaſion of his American Hiſtory, appears diſſatisfied with the local ſeparation of the notes from the text; without, however, diſputing the general principle on which the arrangement of his materials proceeds. "I think," (ſays he,) "that your notes and illuſtrations "very frequently contain matter of the "greateſt importance to the ſtrengthening "the arguments and concluſions you adopt "in the body of the book; and they are "ſo widely ſeparated by the mode of your "publication, that the reader cannot ſee, "at one view, the great merit of your "work. Mr. Gibbon adopted this method, "in imitation of your Charles V.; but I "believe he has found the wiſhes of the "public in favour of another arrangement; "for I underſtand, in a new edition of his "Hiſtory which we are ſoon to have, the

" notes and illuſtrations are to be put at " the bottom of the pages to which they " refer.—I know you will excuſe this " liberty; and very probably, as you have " conſidered the matter more accurately " than ſuch readers as I am, you can give " very ſubſtantial reaſons for preferring the " plan of throwing the notes and illuſtra- " tions to the end of the volume."

On a queſtion of this ſort, the ſuggeſtions of ſo learned and judicious a critic are undoubtedly entitled to peculiar deference: but I muſt be permitted to expreſs my doubts whether he has added to their weight, by appealing to the arrangement of Mr. Gibbon; which, in this inſtance, has always appeared to me to be inconvenient in the extreme. In no ſpecies of writing is it agreeable to have the attention ſo frequently withdrawn from the text; but in hiſtorical writing it is impoſſible to deviſe a more effectual expedient for counteracting the effects of the author's art. The curious reſearch and the epigrammatic wit ſo often diſplayed in Mr. Gibbon's notes, and which ſometimes

ſometimes render them more amuſing than even the eloquent narrative which they are meant to illuſtrate, ſerve only to add to the embarraſſment occaſioned by this unfortunate diſtribution of his materials. He ſeems, indeed, from a letter publiſhed in his poſthumous works, to have been fully ſatisfied, after a trial of both plans, that the preference was due to that which, after Dr. Robertſon's example, he had originally purſued. "I cannot be diſpleaſed" (he obſerves) "with the two numerous and "correct impreſſions which have been "publiſhed for the uſe of the Continent "at Baſil in Switzerland. Of their four-"teen octavo volumes, the two laſt include "the whole body of the notes. The public "importunity had forced me to remove "them from the end of the volume to "the bottom of the page; but I have often "repented of my compliance *."

It is remarkable that no alternative ſhould have occurred to Mr. Gibbon

* Vol. i. p. 178.

between

between placing all his notes at the bottom of the page, or collecting them all in the form of an Appendix. In the firſt edition of his firſt volume, he followed Dr. Robertſon implicitly in adopting the latter method; which, although by far the more unexceptionable of the two, might be obviouſly improved by ſome limitations. Mr. Hume, in a letter to Mr. Strahan, objects to it ſtrongly. "One is plagued with "Gibbon's notes, according to the preſent "method of printing the book. When a "note is announced, you turn to the end "of the volume, and there you often find "nothing but a reference to an authority. "All theſe authorities ought only to be "printed at the margin or the bottom of "the page *."

What Mr. Hume here remarks concerning references to authorities, may be extended to thoſe ſhort explanatory ſentences, which, being intended to facilitate the reader's progreſs, ſhould unqueſtionably be brought under his eye, at the

* Gibbon's Poſt. Works vol. i. p. 500.

ſame time with the paſſage they are intended to elucidate. Dr. Robertſon, as well as Mr. Gibbon, ſeems to have overlooked this diſtinction between explanatory hints, and *notes* intended for the gratification of the curious; and hence have ariſen (at leaſt in part) thoſe inconveniences in the technical arrangement of his volumes, of which Dr. Douglas was led to complain.

A ſtill more important blemiſh, however, it muſt be confeſſed, than what this reſpectable correſpondent has ſpecified, is ſometimes the real ſource of the imperfection he has remarked; I mean, that a conſiderable portion of the matter which is parcelled out among the notes, ought to have been incorporated with the text. Where a writer finds it neceſſary to enter into ſpeculation and diſcuſſion, the whole of his argument ſhould undoubtedly be ſtated at once, and not broken down into fragments, which the reader is to collect from different parts of the book. In thoſe diſſertations, therefore, which form ſo conſiderable a part both of the Hiſtory of Charles V. and of America, it would perhaps have been better,

if

if the Author had adhered leſs cloſely to the plan which he has ſo judiciouſly adopted in his hiſtorical narrative. The arguments which recommend it in the latter ſpecies of compoſition, it is ſufficiently evident, do not apply to it when introduced into the former.

After all, whoever attempts to inſtruct the world by any literary undertaking, whether hiſtorical or ſpeculative, will find it neceſſary, for the complete ſatisfaction of accurate inquirers, to engage in occaſional diſcuſſions which could not be introduced into the body of the work, without digreſſions inconſiſtent with a ſimple and diſtinct arrangement; nor compreſſed into notes at the bottom of the page, without ſtopping the reader's progreſs and miſleading his attention. No writer has been more completely aware of this than Mr. Hume, who, in all his publications, both hiſtorical and philoſophical, has diſtinguiſhed carefully thoſe incidental ſuggeſtions which are neceſſary to prevent any heſitation about the text from the critical diſquiſitions uſeful for ſatisfying men of curious reſearch, or for

obviating the doubts of more refined ſpeculation. Dr. Robertſon's ſubjects, in all his Hiſtories excepting that of Scotland, engaged him in inquiries more open to controverſy, and in arguments reſting upon information leſs acceſſible to ordinary readers, than thoſe of Mr. Hume. His proofs and illuſtrations, accordingly, bear a far greater proportion to the ſize of his volumes; but I am inclined to think that, if examined with proper attention, the arrangement of them will be found (with a few exceptions) to reflect no leſs honour on his taſte and diſcernment.

The ſtreſs which Dr. Robertſon himſelf laid on this peculiarity in his mode of compoſition, added to the indeciſion of Mr. Gibbon with reſpect to its propriety, will, I hope, apologize ſufficiently for the minuteneſs with which ſome of the foregoing particulars are ſtated.—The general queſtion concerning the expediency of imitating the ancients, in limiting an author's intercourſe with his readers, to what is conveyed in the text, does not ſeem to me to admit of diſcuſſion. Conſidered as ſources of authen-

tic and of accurate information, the value of the claſſics is infinitely diminiſhed by this very circumſtance; and few, I believe, have ſtudied Mr. Smith's works, (particularly his Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations,) without regretting, on ſome occaſions, the omiſſion of his authorities; and, on others, the digreſſions into which he has been led, by conforming ſo ſcrupulouſly to the example of antiquity.

Of Dr. Robertſon's merits as an Hiſtorian, as far as they are connected with the genius of the language in which he wrote, it does not become a native of this part of the iſland to expreſs a decided opinion. And, accordingly, in the few remarks which I am to hazard on that ſubject, although I ſhall ſtate my own judgment with freedom, I would be underſtood to write with all poſſible diffidence.

The general ſtrain of his compoſition is flowing, equal, and majeſtic; harmonious beyond that of moſt Engliſh writers, yet

ſeldom deviating, in queſt of harmony, into inverſion, redundancy, or affectation. If, in ſome paſſages, it may be thought that the effect might have been heightened by ſomewhat more of variety in the ſtructure and cadence of his periods, it muſt be recollected that this criticiſm involves an encomium on the beauty of his ſtyle; for it is only where the ear is habitually gratified, that the rythm of compoſition becomes an object of the reader's attention.

In comparing his turn of expreſſion with that of the Claſſical Writers of England, a difference may, I think, be perceived; originating in the provincial ſituation of the country where he received his education and ſpent his life: and, if I am not much miſtaken, the ſame obſervation may be extended, in a greater or leſs degree, to moſt of our contemporaries who have laboured under ſimilar diſadvantages. I do not allude, at preſent, to what are commonly called *Scotticiſms*; for, from theſe Dr. Robertſon's works have been allowed, by the moſt competent judges, to be remarkably free; but to an occaſional ſubſtitution of general

general or of circuitous modes of expreſſion inſtead of the ſimple and ſpecific Engliſh phraſe. An author who lives at a diſtance from the acknowledged ſtandard of elegance, writes in a dialect different from that in which he is accuſtomed to ſpeak; and is naturally led to evade, as much as poſſible, the hazardous uſe of idiomatical phraſes, by the employment of ſuch as accord with the general analogy of the language. Hence, in all the lighter and more familiar kinds of writing, the riſk of ſacrificing eaſe and vivacity, and what Dr. Johnſon calls *genuine Angliciſm* *, in order to ſecure correctneſs and purity; and hence the difficulties with which thoſe of our countrymen have had to ſtruggle, who have aimed at the freedom of the epiſtolary ſtyle, or who have attempted to catch the ſhadowy and fleeting forms of Comic Dialogue. The peculiarity in the manner of *Livy*, cenſured by *Aſinius Pollio*, was probably of a ſimilar deſcription; ariſing leſs from an admixture

* "If Addiſon's language had been leſs idiomatical, "it would have loſt ſomething of its genuine Angli- "ciſm."——*Lives of the Poets.*

of *Paduan* idioms than from the abſence of ſuch as marked the dialect of *Rome*. "In "Tito Livio," (ſays Quinctilian) "miræ "facundiæ viro, putat ineſſe Pollio Aſinius "quandam Patavinitatem. Quare, ſi fieri "poteſt, et verba omnia, et vox, hujus "alumnum Urbis oleant; ut oratio Romana "planè videatur, non civitate donata*."

If, however, in theſe and a few other reſpects, important advantages are poſſeſſed by thoſe whoſe ſtandard of propriety is always before them in their ordinary habits of converſation and of buſineſs, it muſt perhaps be granted, on the other hand, that an ear thus familiarized from infancy to phraſes which it has been accuſtomed to retain, without any ſelection, or any reference to general principles, can ſcarcely fail to have ſome effect in blunting an author's diſcrimination between the eſtabliſhed modes of claſſical expreſſion and the accidental jargon of the day. Illuſtrations of this remark might be eaſily collected from writers of the higheſt and moſt deſerved reputation;

* Quinct. l. viii. c. 1.

more

more particularly from ſome who have cultivated, with the greateſt ſucceſs, the appropriate graces of the Engliſh tongue.—Even the works of Dr. Middleton, which have been often recommended to Scotchmen as the ſafeſt models for their imitation, abound with inſtances of colloquial language, ſanctioned probably by the authority of the faſhionable ſpeakers of his time, but which, I ſhould ſuppoſe, would now be conſidered as vulgariſms, by ſuch of his countrymen as have formed their taſte on the compoſitions either of an earlier or of a later period.

In guarding againſt theſe temporary modes of ſpeech, the provincial reſidence of a Scotchman may ſometimes have its uſe, by teaching him to diſtruſt his ear as an arbiter of elegance, and to appeal on every queſtionable point to the practice of thoſe whoſe eſtabliſhed reputation gives the ſtamp of propriety to the phraſeology they have employed. If his compoſition be deficient in eaſe, it may be expected not to fall under the ordinary ſtandard, in point of purity: nay, it is not impoſſible, that in his ſolicitude

to

to avoid idiomatical phraſes, he may be occaſionally led to animate and to ennoble his diction; or, by uncommon and fortunate combinations of words, to give to familiar ideas the charm of novelty.

The ſpecies of compoſition to which Dr. Robertſon directed his ſtudies, was peculiarly adapted to his local ſituation, by affording him an opportunity of diſplaying all the talents he poſſeſſed, without impoſing on him a trial of his powers in thoſe kinds of writing where a Scotchman is moſt likely to fail. In delineating the characters of Princes, Stateſmen, and Warriors, or in recording events that have happened on the great theatre of public affairs, a certain elevation of language is naturally inſpired by the magnitude of the ſubject. The engaging and pathetic details of domeſtic life vaniſh before the eye which contemplates the fortunes of nations, and the revolutions of Empire; and there is even a gravity of manner, excluſive of every thing familiar or flippant, which accords with our idea of him who ſits in judgment on the generations that are paſt.

It

It may, perhaps, be queſtioned by ſome, whether Dr. Robertſon has not carried to an extreme, his idea of what he has himſelf called the *dignity of hiſtory*; but, whatever opinion we form on this point, it cannot be diſputed, that his plan of ſeparating the materials of hiſtorical compoſition from thoſe which fall under the provinces of the Antiquary, and of the writer of Memoirs, was on the whole happily conceived; and that one great charm of his works ariſes from the taſte and judgment with which he has carried it into execution.—Nor has he ſuffered this ſcrupulous regard to the unity of hiſtorical ſtyle to exclude that variety which was neceſſary for keeping alive the reader's attention. Whenever his ſubject admits of being enriched or adorned by political or philoſophical diſquiſition, by picturesque deſcription, or by the intereſting details of a romantic epiſode, he ſcruples not to try his ſtrength with thoſe who have excelled the moſt in theſe different departments of literature; uniformly, however, avoiding to mingle in the humble ſcenes of ordinary life, or to meet his rivals

on

on any ground where he did not feel himſelf completely their equal.

To this ſyſtematical ſelection of the more regular and analogical forms of conſtruction, is to be aſcribed, in a conſiderable degree, his popularity among foreigners, who unite in eſteeming him, not only as one of the moſt eloquent, but as one of the moſt intelligible of our writers. And, it may be preſumed, the ſame circumſtance will ſecure in his favour the ſuffrages of poſterity, when the paſſing idioms generated by the capricious modes of our own times, ſhall be antiquated or forgotten *.

I have only to add, that ſome of the foregoing obſervations apply more ſtrongly to Dr. Robertſon's earlier than to his later publications. In the Hiſtory of Charles V. and ſtill more in that of America, he ventures on expreſſions which he would not have hazarded before the eſtabliſhment of his literary name; and accordingly, it may be doubted, whether, in conſequence of this circumſtance, he did not loſe in purity

* Appendix, Note H.

of

of diction what he gained in eaſe and freedom. Perhaps, on the whole, it will be found that of all his performances Charles V. is that which unites the various requiſites of good writing in the greateſt degree. The ſtyle is more natural and flowing than that of the Hiſtory of Scotland; while, at the ſame time, idiomatical phraſes are introduced with ſo ſparing and timid a hand, that it is eaſy to perceive the Author's attention to correctneſs was not ſenſibly diminiſhed. In the Hiſtory of America, although it contains many paſſages equal, if not ſuperior, to any thing elſe in his writings, the compoſition does not ſeem to me to be ſo uniformly poliſhed as that of his former works; nor does it always poſſeſs, in the ſame degree, the recommendations of conciſeneſs and ſimplicity.

SECTION V.

Review of the more active Occupations of Dr. Robertſon's Life—Concluſion of the Narrative—Sketch of his Character.

In reviewing the Hiſtory of Dr. Robertſon's Life, our attention has hitherto been confined to thoſe purſuits which formed the habitual occupation of his mind; and which have left behind them unperiſhable monuments. His life, however, was not devoted wholly to the cultivation of letters. His talents fitted him in an eminent degree for the buſineſs of the world; and the ſtation in which Providence placed him opened to him a field, which, however unequal to his ambition or to his genius, afforded him the means of evincing what he might have accompliſhed, if his ſphere of exertion had been more extenſive and brilliant.

Among

Among the active ſcenes in which he had an opportunity to engage, the moſt conſpicuous was preſented to him by the Supreme Eccleſiaſtical Court in Scotland. Of the conſtitution of this court, accordingly, which differs in ſome remarkable particulars from the clerical convocations in other Chriſtian countries, a general outline is neceſſary, in order to convey a juſt idea of the abilities, which ſecured to him, for a long courſe of years, an unrivalled influence in guiding its deliberations.

"The

* For the materials both of this outline and of the ſubſequent view of Dr. Robertſon's ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical policy, I am indebted to a paper drawn up (at the requeſt of Dr. Robertſon's ſon,) by the Rev. George Hill, D. D. Principal of St. Mary's College in the Univerſity of St. Andrews; a gentleman intimately connected with Dr. Robertſon by friendſhip, and highly reſpected by him for the talents and eloquence which he has for many years diſplayed in the eccleſiaſtical courts. In general I have tranſcribed Dr. Hill's words, taking the liberty occaſionally to make ſuch ſlight alterations on the language as were neceſſary for preſerving ſome degree of uniformity in the ſtyle of my narrative; and a few retrenchments, which the plan of this Memoir rendered unavoidable. That the public, however, may not loſe any part of ſo valuable a communication, I have inſerted

"The General Aſſembly of the church of Scotland is compoſed of repreſentatives from the preſbyteries; from the royal boroughs; from the four univerſities; and from the Scotch church of Campvere in Holland. The preſbyteries ſend two hundred and ninety members, of whom two hundred and one are miniſters, and eighty-nine lay-elders; the royal boroughs ſend ſixty-ſeven members, all of whom are laymen; the univerſities ſend five members, who may be either laymen, or miniſters holding an office in the univerſity; and the church of Campvere ſends two members, one miniſter and one lay-elder. The

---

inſerted in the Appendix, the paragraphs which are here omitted.

As Dr. Hill's paper was ſubmitted to the examination, and received the unqualified approbation of three of Dr. Robertſon's moſt confidential friends (1) it may be regarded as an authentic ſtatement of his general principles of church government. For the ſake of connection, I have adopted into this Section ſuch parts of it as ſeemed to me to be neceſſary for completing the hiſtory of his life; abſtaining, however, ſcrupulouſly from hazarding any ideas of my own, on the ſubject to which it relates.

(1) Drs. Blair, Carlyle, and Grieve.

whole

whole number is three hundred and ſixty-four, of whom two hundred and two are miniſters, and one hundred and ſixty-two laymen; including in the latter claſs the members from the univerſities. The annual ſittings of the Aſſembly continue only for ten days; but a committee of the whole Houſe (called the Commiſſion) has four ſtated meetings in the year, for the diſpatch of whatever buſineſs the General Aſſembly has been unable to overtake *.

In ſubordination to this ſupreme court, there is a ſeries of inferior judicatories riſing, one above another, in authority.—The loweſt of theſe is the *Kirk-Seſſions*, or Parochial Conſiſtories; compoſed of the miniſters, together with the lay-elders of their reſpective pariſhes. The miniſters of a number of contiguous pariſhes, together with certain repreſentatives from the Kirk-Seſſions, form a *Preſbytery*; and a plurality of preſbyteries (differing in number according to accidental circumſtances) form a provincial *Synod*.

* Appendix, Note I.

While the conſtitution of the Scottiſh church admits of no ſuperiority of one miniſter above another, it requires from all its individual members, and from all its inferior judicatories, ſtrict obedience to thoſe who are placed in authority over them. Every court is bound to lay the record of all its proceedings from time to time before the tribunal which is its immediate ſuperior; any part of its proceedings may be brought, by appeal or complaint, under the review of a higher juriſdiction; and every miniſter, when he receives orders, comes under a ſolemn engagement, "to aſſert, maintain, and "defend the doctrines, diſcipline, and "government of the church; and never "to attempt any thing, directly or indi-"rectly, which may tend to its ſubverſion "or prejudice."

In conſequence of this ſubordination of judicatories, the General Aſſembly determines, as the court of laſt reſort, all the cauſes brought under its review, and has the power of enforcing without controul, obedience to its decrees. It poſſeſſes alſo extenſive

extenſive legiſlative powers, as it may, with the concurrence of a majority of preſbyteries, enact laws for the government of the whole church.

By the Act of 1592, which gave a legal eſtabliſhment to the form of church government now delineated, the patron of a vacant parish was entitled to preſent to the preſbytery a perſon properly qualified; and the preſbytery were required, after ſubjecting the preſentee to certain trials and examinations, of which they were conſtituted the judges, "to ordain and ſettle him as mi-" niſter of the pariſh, provided no relevant "objection ſhould be ſtated to his life, "doctrine, and qualifications." This right of preſentation, however, although conferred by the fundamental charter of Preſbyterian government in Scotland, was early complained of as a grievance; and accordingly, it was aboliſhed by an act paſſed under the Uſurpation. At the Reſtoration it was again recovered, but it was retained only for a few years; the Revolution having introduced a new ſyſtem, which veſted the right of election in the heritors,

elders, and heads of families in the parish. The 10th of Queen Anne at laſt reſtored the rights of patrons; but the exerciſe of theſe rights was found to be ſo extremely unpopular, that miniſters were generally ſettled, till after the year 1730, in the manner preſcribed by the Act of King William.

During this long period, an averſion to the law of patronage took deep root in the minds of the people; and the circumſtances of the times were ſuch as to render it inexpedient for the church courts to contend with a prejudice ſo inveterate and univerſal.

When the Preſbyterian eſtabliſhment fell a ſacrifice to the policy introduced at the Reſtoration, the miniſters who refuſed to conform to prelacy were ejected from their churches, and underwent a ſevere perſecution. The firmneſs which they diſplayed on this occaſion exhibits a ſtrength of character which has never been ſurpaſſed: but their ſituation, while deprived of the countenance of law, and left entirely to the guidance of private conſcience, was neceſſarily

ſarily ſuch, as to inſpire *independant* principles inconſiſtent with regular ſubordination and diſcipline; and, accordingly, at the Revolution, when the Preſbyterian government was re-eſtabliſhed, and many of the ejected miniſters reſtored to their pulpits, they brought along with them into the church a ſpirit ſcarcely compatible with the connection in which it ſtood with the paramount authority of the ſtate. Their ſucceſſors trained in the ſame ſentiments, ſaw the right of patronage revived in times which they regarded with a jealous eye; and, without allowing themſelves to weigh the expediency of that mode of ſettlement, they conſidered it as an appendage of epiſcopacy which it was the duty of every good Preſbyterian to oppoſe.—While the people, therefore, reſiſted with violence the firſt attempt which was made about the year 1730 to exerciſe this right, the church courts, although they could not entirely diſregard the law, contrived, in many inſtances, to render it ineffectual; and ſanctioned by their authority the prevailing prejudices againſt it. They admitted it as

an uncontrovertible principle in Preſbyterian church government, that a preſentee, although perfectly well qualified, and unexceptionable in life and doctrine, was nevertheleſs inadmiſſible to his clerical office, till the concurrence of the people who were to be under his miniſtry had been regularly aſcertained. The form of expreſſing this concurrence was by the ſubſcription of a paper termed a *Call;* which was conſidered as a ſtep ſo indiſpenſable towards conſtituting the paſtoral relation, that the church-courts, when diſſatisfied with it as an expreſſion of the general wiſhes of the pariſh, ſometimes ſet aſide the preſentee altogether; and when they did authoriſe a ſettlement, proceeded in a manner which ſufficiently implied a greater reſpect for the call than for the preſentation.

The circumſtances underſtood to be neceſſary for conſtituting an adequate *call*, were unſuſceptible of a preciſe definition. The unanimous conſent of land-holders, elders, and heads of families, was ſeldom to be looked for; nor was even an abſolute majority conſidered as indiſpenſable, if

if the concurrence afforded a reaſonable proſpect of an harmonious and uſeful ſettlement. This principle of decision was ſo vague in itſelf, and ſo arbitrary in its application, that much was left in the church-courts to the private judgment of individuals, and much to their prejudices and paſſions; while the people, finding that a noiſy and ſtrenuous oppoſition ſeldom failed of ſucceſs, were encouraged to proſecute their object by tumult and violence. Many of the clergy, conſidering it as a matter of conſcience not to take any ſhare in the ſettlement of an obnoxious preſentee, refuſed on ſuch occaſions to carry into execution the orders of their ſuperiors; and ſuch was the temper of the times, that the leading men of the Aſſembly, although they wiſhed to ſupport the law of the land, found themſelves obliged to have recourſe to expedients; impoſing ſlight cenſures on the diſobedient, and appointing ſpecial committees (whom it was found ſometimes neceſſary to protect by a military force), to diſcharge the duties which the others had declined.

Meaſures of this kind, purſued with little variation for about twenty years, had ſo relaxed the diſcipline of the church, that individuals openly claimed it as a right to diſobey its ſentences, whenever their diſobedience was juſtified, according to the beſt of their judgment, by a principle of conſcience.

Such was the ſtate of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment in Scotland when Dr. Robertſon and his friends began to take an active ſhare in its buſineſs. Diſſatisfied with the ſyſtem adopted by his predeceſſors, and convinced that the more free any conſtitution is, the greater is the danger of violating its fundamental laws, his vigorous and enlightened mind ſuggeſted to him the neceſſity of oppoſing more deciſive meaſures to theſe growing diſorders, and of maintaining the authority of the church by enforcing the ſubmiſſion of all its members. The two capital articles by which he conceived preſbytery to be diſtinguiſhed from every other eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, were the parity of its miniſters, and the ſubordination of its judicatories.—"Wherever

"there

"there is a ſubordination of courts," (as he has himſelf obſerved in an authentic document of his eccleſiaſtical principles,) "there is one court that muſt be ſupreme; "for ſubordination were in vain, if it did "not terminate in ſome laſt reſort. Such "a ſupreme judicature is the General "Aſſembly of the church of Scotland; "and therefore, if its deciſions could be "diſputed and diſobeyed by inferior courts "with impunity, the Preſbyterian conſti- "tution would be entirely overturned. On "this ſuppoſition, there is no occaſion for "the church of Scotland to meet in its "General Aſſemblies any more; its "government is at an end; and it is "expoſed to the contempt and ſcorn of "the world, as a church without union, "order, or diſcipline; deſtitute of ſtrength "to ſupport its own conſtitutions, and "falling into ruins by the abuſe of "liberty."

A queſtion which came under the conſideration of the Aſſembly in the year 1751, when he ſpoke for the firſt time in that ſupreme court, afforded him an opportunity

nity of unfolding his general principles of eccleſiaſtical government. The conduct of a clergyman, who had diſobeyed a ſentence of a former Aſſembly, gave riſe to a warm diſcuſſion; in the courſe of which, Dr. Robertſon, ſupported by a few of his friends, contended for the expediency of a ſevere and exemplary ſentence. But this doctrine was then ſo little underſtood or reliſhed, that he was left in an inconſiderable minority.

The *Commiſſion* of that Aſſembly, at their meeting, in November 1751, ordered the Preſbytery of Dunfermline, which had already been guilty of diſobedience, to admit Mr. Richardſon as miniſter of Inverkeithing; intimating to them, at the ſame time, that in caſe of their continued contumacy, the Commiſſion was to proceed, at their next meeting in March, to a very high cenſure. The preſbytery again diſobeyed; and yet the Commiſſion, with a prepoſterous lenity, ſuffered their conduct to paſs with impunity. The inconſiſtency and inexpediency of this ſentence were urged ſtrenuouſly by Dr. Robertſon and his

his friends, who in their *diſſent*, or proteſt againſt it, have left a valuable record of the general principles on which they acted. The paper is ſtill extant, and though evidently a haſty compoſition, bears, in various paſſages, the marks of Dr. Robertſon's hand *.

Dr. Robertſon argued this cauſe in the General Aſſembly 1752; and, ſuch was the impreſſion made by the argument contained in the proteſt, and more fully illuſtrated in his ſpeech, that the ſupreme court reverſed the judgment of the Commiſſion, and depoſed one of the miniſters of the preſbytery of Dunfermline, for diſobeying the orders of his ſuperiors.

This deciſion was the complete triumph of the principles for which Dr. Robertſon and his friends had ſtruggled. It put an end to thoſe temporary expedients and devices which had hitherto been adopted in the ſettlement of pariſhes: it put an end to thoſe extraordinary committees which Aſſemblies had been in uſe to appoint for

* Appendix, Note K.

relieving

relieving diſobedient preſbyteries from their duty; and it adminiſtered to the inferior judicatories, as well as to individuals, an uſeful leſſon of that ſubordination which the peace of ſociety requires.

The ſucceſs of theſe attempts had probably ſome effect in determining Dr. Robertſon to continue his attention to the affairs of the church; more eſpecially, after his office in the Univerſity put it in his power to be returned annually as a repreſentative to the General Aſſembly. By an uninterrupted attendance in that court for nearly twenty years, he acquired an intimate acquaintance with the whole train of its buſineſs; while the influence which he thus ſecured was increaſed and confirmed by his conciliating manners; by the charms of his converſation; and by the celebrity of his name. He had the happineſs alſo of being warmly ſupported by moſt of the friends who joined him in the Aſſembly 1751; and who, without any jealouſy of the aſcendant which he poſſeſſed, arranged themſelves with cordiality under his ſtandard.

The

The period from his appointment as Principal of the Univerſity till his retreat from public life, came, accordingly, to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Dr. Robertſon's *adminiſtration*: a name which implied, not any appointment from Government, nor any power in the diſtribution of favours; but merely the weight he derived from the confidence of a great majority of his brethren, who approved of the general principles on which he acted.

The circumſtances which chiefly diſtinguiſhed his ſyſtem of policy were, *firſt*, a ſteady and uniform ſupport of the law of patronage; and, *ſecondly*, an impartial exerciſe of the judicial power of the church *.

In the former of theſe reſpects, his exertions are ſuppoſed, by his friends, not only to have produced in the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment a tranquillity unknown in former times; but to have contributed, in no ſmall degree, to the peace and good order of the country. The public language

* Appendix, Note L.

of

of the church ſeems to bear teſtimony to the prevalence of theſe ideas. For a long ſeries of years annual inſtructions had been given to the *Commiſſion*, "to make due "application to the King and Parliament, "for redreſs of the grievance of patronage, "in caſe a favourable opportunity for "doing ſo ſhould occur." But theſe inſtructions were omitted in 1784, ſoon after Dr. Robertſon retired from the buſineſs of the Aſſembly; and they have never ſince been renewed.

A ſyſtematical regularity, to which the church of Scotland had been little accuſtomed, in the exerciſe of its judicial power, was another effect of the aſcendant which Dr. Robertſon poſſeſſed in the conduct of its buſineſs.

A court ſo popular in its conſtitution as the General Aſſembly, is but ill calculated for the patient and diſpaſſionate inveſtigation neceſſary for the adminiſtration of juſtice. As its annual ſittings, too, continue only for a few days, its mode of procedure (irregular and looſe as it is in many reſpects) is very imperfectly underſtood by the

the great majority of clerical members, who enjoy a ſeat in it only once in four or five years: hence, an inattention to forms; and a diſpoſition to undervalue their importance, when they appear to ſtand in the way of immediate expediency. To correct, as far as poſſible, this unfortunate bias, inherent in the conſtitution of all popular tribunals, Dr. Robertſon felt it to be his duty to employ all his abilities; convinced, that a wiſe and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice can only be effectually ſecured by a ſtrict adherence to eſtabliſhed rules. A complete acquaintance with theſe, which he ſoon acquired from his regular attendance on the deliberations of the Aſſembly, gave him a decided ſuperiority over thoſe who were only occaſionally members; and he was enabled gradually to enforce their ſtrict obſervance by the confidence which was generally repoſed in his principles and his talents.

Such were the objects which Dr. Robertſon had chiefly in view as an eccleſiaſtical leader, and which he proſecuted, during thirty years, with ſo great ſteadineſs and

ſucceſs, that not only the ſyſtem introduced by him continues ſtill in vigor, but the deciſions which he dictated form a ſort of *Common Law* of the church *."—With reſpect to the various incidental diſcuſſions in which he was, on different occaſions, called on to take an active concern, it is impoſſible for me to enter into details. One of theſe, however, which occurred towards the cloſe of his public life, is of too memorable a nature to be paſſed over in ſilence.—

The diſturbances occaſioned in Scotland in 1779, by the propoſed extenſion to that part of the kingdom of the repeal of the penal laws againſt Roman Catholics, are well known to all who have the ſlighteſt acquaintance with the hiſtory of that period; and are ſtill freſh in the recollection of the greater part of this Society. Some of us too are able to bear teſtimony, from what fell under our own immediate obſervation, to the firmneſs and tranquillity

* Thus far I have availed myſelf of Dr. Hill's communication. A more full illuſtration of ſome of the particulars here ſtated, will be found in the Appendix.

which

which Dr. Robertſon diſplayed at a very critical juncture; when, after repeated acts of ſucceſsful and unpuniſhed outrage, committed in different parts of this city, a furious populace threatened an attack on his houſe, and were only reſtrained by a military force, from ſacrificing his life to their vengeance.

The leading principles which on that occaſion directed his conduct in the church courts, will be beſt underſtood from a ſtatement of facts, which formed part of one of his ſpeeches in the ſubſequent Aſſembly *.

"The firſt intimation I had of any "intention to grant relief to Papiſts from "the rigor of penal ſtatutes, was in the

* The following extract is tranſcribed, with ſome trifling verbal corrections, from an account of the proceedings of the General Aſſembly, publiſhed in the Scots Magazine for 1779. As the account in general (I am aſſured) is executed with correctneſs and impartiality, the *ſubſtance* of Dr. Robertſon's ſpeech may be preſumed to be faithfully ſtated; but, in other reſpects, ample allowances muſt be made for the inaccuracies to be expected from an anonymous reporter, writing (as is probable) from memory, or from imperfect notes.

" news-papers. Though I had obſerved
" with pleaſure, the rapid progreſs of
" liberal ſentiments in this enlightened
" age; though I knew that ſcience and
" philoſophy had diffuſed the ſpirit of
" toleration through almoſt every part of
" Europe; yet I was ſo well acquainted
" with the deep-rooted averſion of Britons
" to the doctrines and ſpirit of Popery,
" that I ſuſpected this motion for giving
" relief to Papiſts to be premature. I
" was afraid, on the one hand, that the
" liberal ſentiments of thoſe by whom it
" was made might induce them to grant
" too much. I dreaded, on the other, that
" paſt offences might be imputed to the
" Catholics of the preſent age, and exclude
" them from that degree of indulgence,
" which I conſidered as no leſs beneficial
" to the nation, than ſuitable to the ſpirit
" of the Goſpel. But when I obſerved
" the uncommon unanimity with which
" the bill was carried through both Houſes;
" when I ſaw Miniſtry and Oppoſition
" vying with each other in activity to
" forward it; when I beheld that reſpect-
" able

"able body who aſſume to themſelves the
" diſtinguiſhing appellation of *Old Whigs*
" taking the lead avowedly in ſupporting
" it; when I obſerved a Bench of Biſhops,
" of whom I may juſtly ſay, that, in learn-
" ing, in decency of manners, and in zeal
" for the Proteſtant religion, they are not
" inferior to any of their predeceſſors,
" co-operating heartily with the other pro-
" moters of that bill, my curioſity to know
" preciſely the nature and extent of the
" indulgence granted, became very great.
" Upon peruſing the bill itſelf, all my
" apprehenſions vaniſhed; the relief given
" to Papiſts appeared neither too great nor
" too little. By the ſtatute of laſt ſeſſion,
" no political power is conferred on Papiſts.
" They are not entitled to hold any public
" office. They can neither elect, nor be
" elected members of any corporation;
" far leſs can they chuſe, or be choſen,
" members of the Houſe of Commons. In
" conſequence of this ſtatute, an Engliſh
" Papiſt has not acquired the privileges
" of a citizen; he is reſtored only to the
" rights of a man. By a law paſſed in a
" ſeaſon

" ſeaſon of jealouſy, alarm, and factiqn,
" Papiſts were rendered incapable of in-
" heriting property by ſucceſſion or con-
" veyance, of tranſmitting it to others, or
" of acquiring it by purchaſe; and the
" eccleſiaſtics of that religion who ſhould
" take upon them the education of youth,
" were to be puniſhed with perpetual im-
" priſonment. It is from theſe penalties
" and diſabilities alone, that they are now
" relieved. They may now inherit, they
" may deviſe, they may purchaſe. For-
" merly they were in a ſtate of proſcription
" and incapacity: now they are rendered
" what the law calls *perſonæ*; capable of
" legal functions in the poſſeſſion and diſ-
" poſal of their own property. Nor are
" theſe conceſſions gratuitous. Before a
" Papiſt can enjoy the benefit of them, he
" muſt ſwear allegiance to our gracious
" Sovereign; he muſt abjure the Pre-
" tender; he muſt reject as an impious
" poſition, that it is lawful to murder or
" deſtroy any perſon under pretence of
" their being heretics: he muſt declare it
" to be an unchriſtian principle, that faith

" is

" is not to be kept with heretics; he muſt
" diſclaim the power of the Pope to diſ-
" penſe with the obligation of an oath;
" he muſt ſwear, that it is no article of his
" faith that a Pope or Council can either
" depoſe princes, or exerciſe any civil or
" temporal juriſdiction within this realm:
" in ſhort, he muſt give every ſecurity that
" the moſt ſcrupulous anxiety could deviſe,
" to demean himſelf as a loyal and peace-
" able ſubject. Theſe ſlender rights, the
" loweſt a man can claim or enjoy in a ſocial
" ſtate, are the amount of all the mighty
" and dreaded acquiſitions made by Papiſts
" in virtue of this law. I rejoiced in the
" temperate wiſdom of the legiſlature, and
" foreſaw, that a wealthy body of ſubjects
" in England, and a very numerous one in
" Ireland, would, inſtead of continuing
" adverſe to a government which treated
" them with rigour, become attached to
" their king and country by the moſt
" powerful of all ties, gratitude for favours
" received, and deſire of ſecuring the con-
" tinuance of favour by dutiful conduct.
" With ſuch views of the ſalutary effects

" of the repeal, it was impoſſible not to " wiſh that the benefit of it might be " extended to the Roman Catholics in " Scotland. * * *

* * * *

" As ſoon, however, as I perceived the " extent and violence of the flame which " the diſcuſſion of this ſubject had kindled " in Scotland, my ideas concerning the " expedience at this juncture of the mea- " ſure in queſtion, began to alter. For, " although I did think, and I do ſtill be- " lieve, that if the Proteſtants in this " country had acquieſced in the repeal as " quietly as our brethren in England and " Ireland, a fatal blow would have been " given to Popery in the Britiſh dominions; " I knew, that in legiſlation, the ſenti- " ments and diſpoſitions of the people for " whom laws are made ſhould be attended " to with care. I remembered that one " of the wiſeſt men of antiquity declared, " that he had framed for his fellow-citizens " not the beſt laws, but the beſt laws " which they could bear. I recollected

" with

"with reverence, that the Divine Legiſ-
" lator himſelf, accommodating his diſ-
" penſations to the frailty of his ſubjects,
" had given the Iſraelites for a ſeaſon,
" *ſtatutes which were not good.* Even the
" prejudices of the people are, in my
" opinion, reſpectable; and an indulgent
" legiſlature ought not unneceſſarily to run
" counter to them. It appeared manifeſtly
" to be found policy, in the preſent tem-
" per of the people, to ſoothe rather than
" to irritate them; and however ill-
" founded their apprehenſions might be,
" ſome conceſſion was now requiſite in
" order to remove them. In every argu-
" ment againſt the repeal of the penal
" laws, what ſeemed chiefly to alarm my
" brethren who were adverſe to it, was
" the liberty which, as they ſuppoſed, was
" given by the act of laſt ſeſſion to Popiſh
" eccleſiaſtics to open ſchools, and take
" upon them the public inſtruction of
" youth. In order to quiet their fears
" with reſpect to this, I applied to his Ma-
" jeſty's Advocate and Solicitor-General,

" and by their permiſſion, I propoſed to
" a reſpectable miniſter and elder of this
" church, who deſervedly poſſeſs much
" credit with the oppoſers of this repeal,
" that ſuch proviſos ſhould be inſerted in
" the bill which was to be moved in Par-
" liament, for reſtraining the Popiſh clergy
" in this point, as would obviate every
" danger apprehended. Theſe gentlemen
" fairly told me, that, if ſuch a propoſition
" had been made more early, they did not
" doubt that it might have produced good
" effects; but, now matters were gone ſo
" far, that they were perſuaded nothing
" leſs would ſatisfy the people than a
" reſolution to drop the bill altogether.
" Perſuaded of the truth of what they
" repreſented, ſeeing the alarm ſpread
" rapidly in every quarter, and knowing
" well how imperfectly tranſactions in this
" country are underſtood in the other part
" of the iſland, I conſidered it as my duty
" to lay before his Majeſty's ſervants in
" London, a fair ſtate of the ſentiments
" of the people in Scotland. My ſtation

" in

" in the church, I thought, intitled me to
" take this liberty in a matter purely
" eccleſiaſtical. I flattered myſelf, that
" my avowed approbation and ſtrenuous
" ſupport of a meaſure which had been
" unhappily ſo much miſunderſtood,
" might give ſome weight to my repre-
" ſentations. I informed them, that the
" deſign of extending the repeal of the
" penal ſtatutes of King William to
" Scotland, had excited a very general
" alarm: that the ſpirit of oppoſition to
" this meaſure ſpread among the King's
" moſt loyal and attached ſubjects in this
" country: that nothing would calm and
" appeaſe them, but the relinquiſhing all
" thoughts of ſuch a bill: that the pro-
" curing of the intended relaxation for a
" handful of Catholics, was not an advan-
" tage to be put in competition with the
" imprudence of irritating ſo great a body
" of well-affected ſubjects: that if the
" meaſure were perſiſted in, fatal effects
" would follow; and no man, how great
" ſoever his ſagacity might be, could ven-
" ture to foretel what would be the extent
" of

" of the danger, and what the violent
" operations of an incenſed populace:
" that, groundleſs as the fears of the people
" might be, it was prudent to quiet them:
" and that the ſame wiſdom and modera-
" tion which had induced Government,
" ſome years ago, to repeal the Act for na-
" turalizing the Jews, in conſequence of
" an alarm, as ill-grounded in the ſouthern
" parts of the iſland, ought now to make
" a ſimilar conceſſion, from indulgence to
" the prejudice of the people on this ſide
" of the Tweed.

" Such has been the tenor of my con-
" duct. While I thought a repeal of the
" penal ſtatutes would produce good effects,
" I ſupported it openly: when I foreſaw
" bad conſequences from perſiſting in a
" meaſure which I had warmly approved,
" I preferred the public good to my own
" private ſentiments; I honeſtly remon-
" ſtrated againſt it; and I have the ſatiſ-
" faction to think, that I am the only
" private perſon (as far as I know) in
" Scotland, who applied to thoſe in power,

" in

"In order to prevent this much dreaded "repeal, which has been repreſented as "the ſubverſion of every ſacred right for "which our anceſtors contended and "ſuffered."

* * * *

The laſt Aſſembly in which Dr. Robertſon ſat was that of 1780. While his faculties were yet vigorous, his conſtitution unbroken, and his influence undiminiſhed, he choſe to withdraw from the active ſcenes in which he had ſo long borne a part, and to conſecrate the remainder of his life to the quiet purſuits of ſtudy, and to the paſtoral duties of his profeſſion. His retreat was deeply regretted and ſincerely felt by his friends; nor was it leſs lamented by many individuals of the oppoſite party in the church, who, while they reſiſted his principles of eccleſiaſtical policy, loved his candour, and reſpected his integrity *.

Among theſe, there is one, whoſe liberal and affectionate zeal in embalming the me-

* Appendix, Note M.

mory

mory of a political antagoniſt, recalls to our recollection, amidſt the unrelenting rancour which diſgraces the factions of modern times, the memorable tribute which *Metellus* paid to the virtues of *Scipio* on the day of his funeral: *Ite, Filii, celebrate exequias; nunquam Civis majoris funus videbitis* *.—I need ſcarcely, after what I have hinted, mention to the Society the name of Dr. Erſkine; of whoſe Sermon on the death of his colleague, it is difficult to ſay, whether it reflects greater honour on the character of the Writer, or of him whom it commemorates. The Author will, I hope, pardon me for tranſcribing one paſſage, which is intimately connected with this part of my ſubject, and which combines, with a teſtimony of ineſtimable value to Dr. Robertſon's fame, ſome important information which I could not ſupply from any ſource of equal authority.

"His ſpeeches in church courts were "admired by thoſe whom they did not

* Plin. Hiſt Nat. vii. 44.

"convince,

" convince, and acquired and preſerved
" him an influence over a majority in
" them, which none before him enjoyed:
" though his meaſures were ſometimes
" new, and warmly, and with great
" ſtrength of argument oppoſed, both
" from the preſs, and in the General
" Aſſembly. To this influence many
" cauſes contributed:—his firm adherence
" to the general principles of church
" policy, which he early adopted; his
" ſagacity in forming plans; his ſteadi-
" neſs in executing them; his quick diſ-
" cernment of whatever might hinder or
" promote his deſigns; his boldneſs in
" encountering difficulties; his preſence
" of mind in improving every occaſional
" advantage; the addreſs with which,
" when he ſaw it neceſſary, he could
" make an honourable retreat; and his
" ſkill in ſtating a vote, and ſeizing the
" favourable moment for ending a debate,
" and urging a deciſion. He guided and
" governed others, without ſeeming to
" aſſume any ſuperiority over them: and
" fixed and ſtrengthened his power, by

" often, in matters of form and expediency,
" preferring the opinions of thoſe with
" whom he acted, to his own. In former
" times, hardly any roſe up to ſpeak in
" the General Aſſembly, till called upon
" by the *Moderator*, unleſs men advanced
" in years, of high rank, or of eſtabliſhed
" characters. His example and influence
" encouraged young men of abilities to
" take their ſhare of public buſineſs; and
" thus deprived *Moderators* of an engine
" for preventing cauſes being fairly and
" impartially diſcuſſed. The power of
" others, who formerly had in ſome mea-
" ſure guided eccleſiaſtical affairs, was
" derived from miniſters of ſtate, and
" expired with their fall. His remained
" unhurt amidſt frequent changes of ad-
" miniſtration. Great men in office were
" always ready to countenance him, to
" co-operate with him, and to avail them-
" ſelves of his aid. But, he judged for
" himſelf, and ſcorned to be their ſlave;
" or to ſubmit to receive their inſtructions.
" Hence, his influence, not confined to

" men

" men of mercenary views, extended to
" many of a free and independent ſpirit,
" who ſupported, becauſe they approved,
" his meaſures; which others, from the
" ſame independent ſpirit, thought it their
" duty ſteadily to oppoſe.

" Deliberate in forming his judgment,
" but, when formed, not eaſily moved to
" renounce it, he ſometimes viewed the
" altered plans of others with too ſuſpicious
" an eye. Hence, there were able and
" worthy men, of whom he expreſſed
" himſelf leſs favourably, and whoſe latter
" appearances in church judicatories, he
" cenſured as inconſiſtent with principles
" which they had formerly profeſſed:
" while they maintained, that the ſyſtem
" of managing church affairs was changed,
" not their opinions or conduct. Still,
" however, keen and determined oppoſition
" to his ſchemes of eccleſiaſtical policy,
" neither extinguiſhed his eſteem, nor for-
" feited his friendly offices, when he ſaw
" oppoſition carried on without rancour,
" and when he believed that it originated
" from conſcience and principle, not from

" perſonal

"perſonal animoſity, or envy, or ambi-
"tion *."

I ſhall not preſume to add any thing in illuſtration of theſe remarks. The greater part of them relate to tranſactions of which I had no immediate knowledge, and of which I am not a competent judge; and, at any rate, no teſtimony of mine could increaſe the value of praiſe from ſo able and ſo impartial a hand. One quality, however, aſcribed to Dr. Robertſon by his colleague,—his ability in debate,—I may be allowed to expreſs my own opinion; as I was often led by curioſity, in my early years, to witneſs the proceedings of the court where it was principally diſplayed; and which, ſince the union of the kingdoms, is all that exiſts in Scotland, to preſerve the ſemblance of popular deliberation. This part of his fame will ſoon reſt on tradition only; but by many who are ſtill able to judge from their own recollection, I ſhall not be accuſed of exaggeration, when I ſay, that in *ſome* of the

* Diſcourſes, &c. by John Erſkine, D. D. p. 271.

moſt

moſt eſſential qualifications of a ſpeaker, he was entitled to rank with the firſt names which have, in our times, adorned the Britiſh Senate.—Nor was the oppoſition with which he had to contend unworthy of his exertions; formidable as it long was in zeal and numbers, and aided by a combination of talents which will not eaſily be equalled; the copious and fervid declamation of *Croſbie*; the claſſical, argumentative, and commanding eloquence of *Dick*; and the powerful, though coarſe, invective of *Freebairn*, whoſe name would, in a different age, have been tranſmitted to poſterity with thoſe of the ruſtic and intrepid apoſtles who freed their country from the hierarchy of Rome *.

The characteriſtic of Dr. Robertſon's eloquence was *perſuaſion*;—mild, rational, and conciliating, yet manly and dignified. In early life, when forced as a partiſan to

* Andrew Croſbie Eſq. Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Advocates. Robert Dick, D. D. one of the Miniſters of Edinburgh. The Rev. Mr. Freebairn, Miniſter of Dunbarton. All of them died many years before Dr. Robertſon.

expoſe himſelf to the contentious heat of popular diſcuſſion, he is ſaid to have been diſtinguiſhed by promptitude and animation in repelling the attacks which he occaſionally encountered; but long before the period during which I knew him, he had become the acknowledged head of his party, and generally ſpoke laſt in the debate; reſuming the arguments on both ſides, with ſuch perſpicuity of arrangement and expreſſion; ſuch reſpect to his antagoniſts; and ſuch an air of candour and earneſtneſs in every thing he ſaid, that he often united the ſuffrages of the Houſe in favour of the concluſions he wiſhed to eſtabliſh.

His pronunciation and accents were ſtrongly marked with the peculiarities of his country; nor was this defect compenſated by the graces of his delivery. His manner, however, though deficient in eaſe, was intereſting and impreſſive; and had ſomething in its general effect, neither unſuitable to his profeſſional ſtation, nor to the particular ſtyle of his eloquence. His diction was rich and ſplendid, and abounded

with

with the ſame beauties that characteriſe his writings.

In theſe details with reſpect to his eccleſiaſtical politics, I may perhaps be thought by ſome to have been more circumſtantial than was neceſſary; but, as he himſelf always dwelt on that ſubject with peculiar ſatisfaction, I could not paſs it over more ſlightly than I have done. Nor is it ſo foreign, as it may at firſt appear, to his character as an Hiſtorian; for, narrow and obſcure as his field of action was, it afforded him a cloſer view than moſt authors have enjoyed, of the intrigues of contending factions; and an opportunity of ſtudying, though on a ſcale comparatively ſmall, the paſſions that decide the fate of nations. In tracing, accordingly, the ſprings of human conduct, his ſagacity is ſtrongly impreſſed with that knowledge of the world, which experience alone can communicate; and, even in thoſe characteriſtical portraits, on which he has laviſhed all the decorations of his ſtyle, he is ſeldom if ever miſled, either by the affectation of eloquence, or of meta-

phyſical refinement, from a faithful adherence to truth and nature.

I would willingly enlarge on his merits in a different department of his profeſſional employments, of which I am more competent to judge from perſonal knowledge, were I not afraid, that my own academical habits might lead me to attach an intereſt to what would appear of little moment to others. I ſhall therefore only remark, in general, his aſſiduous attention, amidſt his various occupations, both ſpeculative and active, to the minuteſt duties of his office as Head of the Univerſity; duties, which nothing but his habits of arrangement and the ſevereſt œconomy of his time, could have enabled him to diſcharge with ſo little appearance of hurry or inconvenience. The valuable acceſſion of books which the public library received while under his adminiſtration, was chiefly owing to his prudent and exact application of the very ſlender funds appropriated to that eſtabliſhment; the various ſocieties, both literary and medical, which, in this

place,

places have long contributed ſo eſſentially to the improvement of the riſing generation, were, moſt of them, either planned or reformed under his direction and patronage; and if, as a ſeat of learning, Edinburgh has, of late more than formerly, attracted the notice of the world, much muſt be aſcribed to the influence of his example, and to the luſtre of his name. The good ſenſe, temper, and addreſs, with which he preſided for thirty years in our Univerſity meetings, were attended with effects no leſs eſſential to our proſperity; and are atteſted by a fact which is perhaps without a parallel in the annals of any other literary community; that during the whole of that period, there did not occur a ſingle queſtion which was not terminated by an unanimous deciſion.

In conſequence of the various connexions with ſociety, which aroſe from theſe profeſſional duties, and from the intereſt which he was led to take, both by his official ſituation, and the activity of his public

ſpirit, in the literary or the patriotic undertakings of others *, a conſiderable portion of Dr. Robertſon's leiſure was devoted to converſation and company. No man enjoyed theſe with more reliſh; and few have poſſeſſed the ſame talents to add to their attractions.

A rich ſtock of miſcellaneous information, acquired from books and from an extenſive intercourſe with the world, together with a perfect acquaintance at all times with the topics of the day, and the ſoundeſt ſagacity and good ſenſe applied to the occurrences of common life, rendered him the moſt agreeable and inſtructive of companions. He ſeldom aimed at wit; but, with his intimate friends, he often indulged a ſportive and fanciful ſpecies of humour. He delighted in good-natured, characteriſtical anecdotes of his acquaintance, and added powerfully to their effect by his own enjoyment in relating them. He was, in a remarkable degree, ſuſceptible of the ludi-

* Appendix, Note N.

crous:

cross: but, on no occaſion, did he forget the dignity of his character, or the decorum of his profeſſion; nor did he even loſe ſight of that claſſical taſte which adorned his compoſitions. His turn of expreſſion was correct and pure; ſometimes, perhaps, inclining more than is expected, in the careleſſneſs of a ſocial hour, to formal and artificial periods; but it was ſtamped with his own manner no leſs than his premeditated ſtyle: it was always the language of a ſuperior and a cultivated mind, and it embelliſhed every ſubject on which he ſpoke. In the company of ſtrangers, he increaſed his exertions to amuſe and to inform; and the ſplendid variety of his converſation was commonly the chief circumſtance on which they dwelt in enumerating his talents;—and yet, I muſt acknowledge, for my own part, that much as I always admired his powers when they were thus called forth, I enjoyed his ſociety leſs, than when I ſaw him in the circle of his intimates, or in the boſom of his family.

It only now remains for me to mention his exemplary diligence in the diſcharge

of his paſtoral duties; a diligence which, inſtead of relaxing as he advanced in life, became more conſpicuous, when his growing infirmities withdrew him from buſineſs, and leſſened the number of his active engagements. As long as his health allowed him, he preached regularly every Sunday; and he continued to do ſo occaſionally, till within a few months of his death.

The particular ſtyle of his pulpit eloquence may be judged of from the ſpecimen which has been long in the hands of the public; and it is not improbable, that the world might have been favoured with others of equal excellence, if he had not loſt, before his removal from Gladſmuir, a volume of ſermons which he had compoſed with care. The facility with which he could arrange his ideas, added to the correctneſs and fluency of his extemporary language, encouraged him to lay aſide the practice of writing, excepting on extraordinary occaſions; and to content himſelf, in general, with ſuch ſhort notes as might recal to his memory the principal topics on which he meant to enlarge. To the value, however,

however, and utility of theſe unpremeditated ſermons we have the honourable teſtimony of his learned and excellent colleague, who heard him preach every week for more than twenty years. "His diſ-
"courſes from this place," ſays Dr. Erſkine, "were ſo plain, that the moſt illiterate "might eaſily underſtand them, and yet "ſo correct and elegant that they could "not incur their cenſure, whoſe taſte was "more refined. For ſeveral years before "his death, he ſeldom wrote his ſermons "fully, or exactly committed his older "ſermons to memory; though, had I not "learned this from himſelf, I ſhould not "have ſuſpected it; ſuch was the variety "and fitneſs of his illuſtrations, the accu-
"racy of his method, and the propriety "of his ſtyle."

His health began apparently to decline in the end of the year 1791. Till then, it had been more uniformly good than might have been expected from his ſtudious habits; but, about this period, he ſuddenly diſcovered ſtrong ſymptoms of jaundice, which gradually undermined his conſtitution, and terminated

terminated at length in a lingering and fatal illneſs. He had the proſpect of death long before him; a proſpect deeply afflicting to his family and his friends; but of which, without any viſible abatement in his ſpirits, he happily availed himſelf, to adorn the doctrines which he had long taught, by an example of fortitude and of Chriſtian reſignation. In the concluding ſtage of his diſorder, he removed from Edinburgh to *Grange Houſe* in the neighbourhood, where he had the advantage of a freer air, and a more quiet ſituation, and (what he valued more than moſt men) the pleaſure of rural objects, and of a beautiful landſcape. While he was able to walk abroad, he commonly paſſed a part of the day in a ſmall garden, enjoying the ſimple gratifications it afforded with all his wonted reliſh. Some who now hear me will long remember,—among the trivial yet intereſting incidents which marked theſe laſt weeks of his memorable life,—his daily viſits to the fruit-trees (which were then in bloſſom), and the ſmile with which he, more than once, contraſted the intereſt he took in their progreſs, with

with the event which was to happen before their maturity. At his particular desire, I saw him (for the last time) on the 4th of June 1793, when his weakness confined him to his couch, and his articulation was already beginning to fail: and it is in obedience to a request with which he then honoured me, that I have ventured, without consulting my own powers, to offer this tribute to his memory. He died on the 11th of the same month, in the 71st year of his age.

I have already hinted at his domestic happiness. Nothing was wanting to render it perfect while he lived; and, at his death, he had the satisfaction to leave, in prosperous circumstances, a numerous family, united to each other and to their excellent mother by the tenderest affection. His eldest son, an eminent lawyer at the Scotch bar, has been only prevented by the engagements of an active profession, from sustaining his father's literary name; while his two younger sons, both of whom very early embraced a military life, have carried his vigour and enterprize into a different career

career of ambition *. His eldeſt daughter is married to Mr. Brydone, the well-known author of one of our moſt elegant and popular books of Travels. Another is the widow of the late John Ruſſell Eſq. Clerk to the Signet, and one of the members of this Society.

The general view which has been already given of Dr. Robertſon's occupations and habits, ſuperſedes the neceſſity of attempting a formal delineation of his character. To the particulars, however, which have been incidentally mentioned in the courſe of this biographical ſketch, it may not be unimportant to add, that the ſame ſagacity and good-ſenſe which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed him as a Writer, guided his conduct in life, and rendered his counſels of ineſtimable value to his friends. He was not forward in offering advice; but when conſulted, as he was very frequently, by his younger acquaintance, he entered into their concerns with the moſt lively intereſt, and ſeemed to have a pleaſure and a pride in

* Appendix, Note O.

imparting to them all the lights of his experience and wiſdom. Good-ſenſe was indeed the moſt prominent feature in his intellectual character; and it is unqueſtionably of all the qualities of the underſtanding, that which eſſentially conſtitutes ſuperiority of mind: for, although we are ſometimes apt to appropriate the appellation of genius to certain peculiarities in the intellectual habits, it is he only who diſtinguiſhes himſelf from the reſt of mankind, by thinking better than they on the ſame ſubjects, who fairly brings his powers into compariſon with others. This was in a remarkable degree the caſe with Dr. Robertſon. He was not eminent for metaphyſical acuteneſs; nor did he eaſily enter into ſpeculations involving mathematical or mechanical ideas; but, in thoſe endowments which lay the foundation of ſucceſsful conduct, and which fit a man to acquire an influence over others, he had no ſuperior. Among thoſe who have, like him, devoted the greater part of life to ſtudy, perhaps it would be difficult to find his equal.

His

His practical acquaintance with human nature was great, and he poſſeſſed the ſoundeſt and moſt accurate notions of the characters of thoſe with whom he was accuſtomed to aſſociate. In that quick penetration, indeed, which reads the ſoul, and eſtimates the talents of others by a ſort of intuition, he was ſurpaſſed by many; and I have often known him miſled by firſt impreſſions: but where he had an opportunity of continuing his obſervations for a length of time, he ſeldom failed in forming concluſions equally juſt, refined, and profound. In a general knowledge of the world, and of the ways of men, his ſuperiority was ſtriking and indiſputable; ſtill more ſo, in my opinion, than in the judgments he formed of individuals. Nor is this ſurpriſing, when we conſider the joint influence of his habits as an hiſtorian, and as a political leader.

Too much cannot be ſaid of his moral qualities. Exemplary and amiable in the offices of private life, he exhibited in his public conduct, a rare union of political firmneſs

firmneſs with candour and moderation.— "He enjoyed," ſays Dr. Erſkine, "the "bounties of Providence without running "into riot; was temperate without auſte- "rity; condeſcending and affable without "meanneſs; and in expence neither ſordid "nor prodigal. He could feel an injury, "and yet bridle his paſſion; was grave, not "ſullen; ſteady, not obſtinate; friendly, "not officious; prudent and cautious, not "timid."—The praiſe is liberal; and it is expreſſed with the cordial warmth of friendſhip; but it comes from one who had the beſt opportunity of knowing the truth, as he had enjoyed Dr. Robertſon's intimacy from his childhood, and was afterwards, for more than twenty years, his colleague in the ſame church; while his zealous attachment to a different ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical government, though it never impaired his affection for the companion of his youth, exempts him from any ſuſpicion of undue partiality.

In point of ſtature Dr. Robertſon was rather above the middle ſize; and his form, though

though it did not convey the idea of much activity, announced vigour of body and a healthful conſtitution. His features were regular and manly; and his eye ſpoke at once good ſenſe and good-humour. He appeared to greateſt advantage in his complete clerical dreſs; and was more remarkable for gravity and dignity in diſcharging the functions of his public ſtations, than for eaſe or grace in private ſociety. His portrait by Reynolds, painted about twenty years ago, is an admirable likeneſs; and fortunately, (for the colours are already much faded,) all its ſpirit is preſerved in an excellent mezzotinto. At the requeſt of his colleagues in the Univerſity*, who were anxious to have ſome memorial of him placed in the public library, he ſat again, a few months before his death, to Mr. Raeburn; at a time when his altered and ſickly aſpect rendered the taſk of the artiſt peculiarly difficult. The picture, however, is not only worthy, in every reſpect, of

* Appendix, Note P.

Mr.

Mr. Raeburn's high and deſerved reputation, but to thoſe who were accuſtomed to ſee Dr. Robertſon at this intereſting period, derives an additional value from an air of languor and feebleneſs, which ſtrongly marked his appearance during his long decline.

I ſhould feel myſelf happy, if, in concluding this Memoir, I could indulge the hope, that it may be the means of completing and finiſhing that picture which his writings exhibit of his mind. In attempting to delineate its characteriſtic features, I have certainly poſſeſſed one advantage;—that I had long an opportunity of knowing and ſtudying the original; and that my portrait, ſuch as it is, is correctly copied from my own impreſſions. I am ſenſible, at the ſame time, that much more might have been accompliſhed by a writer whoſe purſuits were more congenial than mine to Dr. Robertſon's: nor would any thing have induced me to depart, ſo far as I have now done,

from the ordinary courſe of my own ſtudies, but my reſpect for the laſt wiſh of a much lamented friend, expreſſed at a moment when nothing remained for me but ſilent acquieſcence.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A. p. 15.

THE information contained in the following note, (for which I am indebted to the friendſhip of Dr. Carlyle,) cannot fail to be acceptable to thoſe, to whom the Literary Hiſtory of Scotland is an object of curioſity.

"The *Select Society* owed its riſe to the ingenious Allan Ramſay, (ſon of the Poet of that name,) and was intended for Philoſophical Inquiry, and the improvement of the Members in the Art of Speaking. They met for the firſt time in the Advocates' Library, in May 1754, and conſiſted only of fifteen, who had been nominated and called together by Mr. Ramſay and two or three of his friends. At that meeting they formed themſelves into a ſociety, into which the Members were ever after elected by ballot, and who met regularly every Friday evening, during the ſittings of the Court of Seſſion, both in ſummer and winter.

"This

" This Society continued to flouriſh for ſeveral " years, and became ſo faſhionable, that, in " 1759, their number amounted to more than " 130; which included all the *Literati* of Edin- " burgh and its neigbbourhood, and many of " the Nobility and Gentry, who, though a few " of them only took any ſhare in the debates, " thought themſelves ſo well entertained, and " inſtructed, that they gave punctual attendance. " In this Society, which remained in vigour for " ſix or ſeven years, Dr. Robertſon made a con- " ſpicuous figure. By his means it was, and by " the appearances made by a few of his brethren, " that a new luſtre was thrown on their order. " From the Revolution, (when the Church had " been chiefly filled with incumbents that were " ill-educated,) down to this period, the Clergy " of the Eſtabliſhed Church had always been " conſidered in a ſubordinate light, and as far " inferior to the Members of the other Learned " Profeſſions, in knowledge and liberal views. " But now, when compared together, on this " theatre for the exhibition of talents, they were " found to be entitled to at leaſt an equal ſhare " of praiſe; and having been long depreſſed, " they were, in compenſation, as uſual, raiſed " full as high as they deſerved. When the Select " Society commenced, it was not foreſeen that

" the

" the Hiſtory of Scotland during the reign of " Mary, the Tragedy of Douglas, and the " Epigoniad, were to iſſue ſo ſoon from three " Gentlemen of the Eccleſiaſtical Order.

" When the Society was on the decline, by " the avocations of many of its moſt diſtin- " guiſhed members, and the natural abatement " of that ardor which is excited by novelty and " emulation, it was thought proper to elect fixed " preſidents to preſide in their turns, whoſe duty " it was to open the queſtion to be debated upon, " that a fair field might be laid before the " Speakers. It was obſerved of Dr. Robertſon, " who was one of thoſe Preſidents, that whereas " moſt of the others in their previous diſcourſes " exhauſted the ſubject ſo much that there was " no room for debate, he gave only ſuch brief, " but artful ſketches, as ſerved to ſuggeſt ideas, " without leading to a deciſion.

" Among the moſt diſtinguiſhed Speakers in " the Select Society were Sir Gilbert Elliott, " Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Andrew Pringle, Lord " Kaims, Mr. Walter Stewart, Lord Elibank, " and Dr. Robertſon. The Honourable Charles " Townſhend ſpoke once. David Hume and " Adam Smith never opened their lips.

" The Society was alſo much obliged to " Dr. Alexander Monro, Senior, Sir Alexander

" Dick, and Mr. Patrick Murray, Advocate, " who, by their conſtant attendance and readi- " neſs on every ſubject, ſupported the debate " during the firſt year of the eſtabliſhment, when " otherwiſe it would have gone heavily on. The " ſame part was afterwards more ably performed " by Lord Monboddo, Lord Elibank, and the " Reverend William Wilkie, all of whom had " the peculiar talent of ſupporting their para- " doxical tenets by an inexhauſtible fund of " humour and argument."

A printed Liſt of the Members having been accidentally preſerved by Dr. Carlyle, I need make no apology for giving it a place in this Appendix, as a memorial of the ſtate of Literary Society in Edinburgh, forty years ago.

LIST of the MEMBERS of the SELECT SOCIETY, 17th October, 1759.

Rev. John Jardine, Miniſter in Edinburgh.
Francis Home, M. D.
Adam Smith, Profeſſor of Ethics at Glaſgow.
Alex. Wedderburn (now Lord Chancellor).
Allan Ramſay (afterwards Painter to His Majeſty).

James

James Burnet, Advocate (afterwards Lord Monboddo).

John Campbell, Advocate (now Lord Stonefield).

Rev. Alex. Carlyle, Miniſter at Invereſk.

William Johnſton, Advocate (now Sir William Pulteney).

James Stevenſon Rogers, Advocate.

David Hume.

John Swinton, Advocate (afterwards Lord Swinton).

Patrick Murray, Advocate.

Patrick Hume of Billy, Advocate.

Alex. Stevenſon, M. D.

Walter Stewart, Advocate.

John Home (Author of Douglas).

Robert Alexander, Merchant.

James Ruſſell (afterwards Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy).

George Cockburn, Advocate.

David Clerk, M. D.

George Brown (Lord Colſton).

Rev. Will. Robertſon, Miniſter in Edinburgh.

John Fletcher (now Gen. Fletcher Campbell).

Alex. Agnew, Advocate.

John Hope, M. D.

Sir David Dalrymple, Advocate (afterwards Lord Hailes).

Gilbert Elliot, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

Sir Harry Erſkine, Bart.

Rev. Hugh Blair, one of the Miniſters of Edinburgh.

Andrew Stewart (now M. P. for Weymouth).

Charles Fyſch Palmer.

George Morriſon, Advocate.

Andrew Pringle (Lord Aylmoor).

Alex. Monro, Sen. M. D.

David Roſs, Advocate (now Lord Ankerville).

Right Hon. Patrick Lord Elibank.

Earl of Glaſgow.

Sir Alex. Dick, Bart.

Robert Arbuthnot (now Secretary to the Board of Truſtees for Manufactures, &c.).

Adam Fairholme, Merchant in Edinburgh.

Major James Edmonſtone.

Charles Hamilton Gordon, Advocate.

James Ferguſſon of Pitfour, Jun. Advocate.

David Kennedy, Advocate (afterwards Earl of Caſſils).

John Dalrymple, Advocate (now Baron of Exchequer).

Major Robert Murray (afterwards Sir Robert) Murray).

Rev.

Rev. Rob. Wallace, Miniſter in Edinburgh.
John Gordon, Advocate.
Alex. Maxwell, Merchant in Edinburgh.
John Coutts, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Will. Tod, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Thomas Millar (afterwards Preſident of the Court of Seſſion).
Robert Chalmers.
Mr. Baron Grant.
Captain James Stewart.
Sir John Stewart, Advocate.
James Guthrie, Merchant.
Charles Congalton, Surgeon in Edinburgh.
Rev. Will. Wilkie, Miniſter at Ratho.
John Monro, Advocate.
Captain Robert Douglas.
Alex. Tait, Writer in Edinburgh.
George Chalmers, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Colonel Oughton (afterwards Sir Adolphus Oughton).
John Adam, Architect.
Robert White, M. D.
Henry Home (Lord Kaims).
James Montgomery, Advocate (now Chief Baron of Exchequer).
David Dalrymple, Advocate (afterwards Lord Weſthall).
Rev. George Kay, Miniſter in Edinburgh.

George

George Muir, Clerk of Juſticiary.

George Clerk (afterwards Sir George Clerk).

Lieut. Col. Archibald Montgomery (afterwards Earl of Eglinton).

Right Honourable Lord Deſkfoord.

Robt. Berry, Advocate.

Adam Auſtin, M. D.

Lieut. Col. Morgan.

George Drummond (Lord Provoſt of Edinburgh).

The Earl of Lauderdale.

Alex. Boſwell (Lord Auchinleck).

Alex. Udney, Commiſſioner of Exciſe.

Rev. George Wiſhart, Miniſter in Edinburgh.

Right Honourable Lord Belhaven.

Francis Garden, Advocate (afterwards Lord Gardenſtone).

David Rae, Advocate (now Lord Juſtice Clerk).

Mansfield Cardonnel, Commiſſioner of Exciſe.

Right Honourable Lord Aberdour.

John Murray of Philiphaugh, Advocate.

Will. Tytler, Writer to the Signet (Author of the Vindication of Q. Mary).

Colin Drummond, M. D.

Robert

Robert Dundas (afterwards Preſident of the Court of Seſſion).

Stamp Brookſbanks.

Wm. Nairne, Advocate (now Lord Dunſinan).

James Adam, Architect.

Captain Charles Erſkine.

Hugh Dalrymple, Advocate (Author of Rodondo).

James Hay, Surgeon.

Mr. Baron Erſkine (afterwards Lord Alva).

John Clerk (Author of Naval Tactics).

John MacGowan, Jun. Writer in Edinburgh.

Earl of Galloway.

John Graham of Dougaldſton.

James Carmichael, Writer to the Signet.

Adam Ferguſſon (afterwards Profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy).

George Drummond of Blair.

Will. Cullen, M. D.

Ilay Campbell, Advocate (now Preſident of the Court of Seſſion).

Alex. Murray, Advocate (afterwards Lord Henderland).

Rev. Robert Dick.

Right Honourable Lord Gray.

Earl of Errol.

James

James Dewar, Advocate.
Captain David Wedderburn.
Major James Dalrymple.
Archibald Hamilton, M. D.
Andrew Cheap.
Andrew Croſbie, Advocate.
Earl of Aboyne.
Adam Fergusſon, Advocate (now Sir Adam Fergusſon).
Earl of Selkirk.
John Turton.
Coſmo Gordon (afterwards one of the Barons of Exchequer).
Right Honourable Lord Gairlies.
Earl of Sutherland.
Captain Dougald Campbell.
Honourable George Ramſay, Advocate.
Earl of Roſeberry.
Earl of Caſſils.
William Graham, Advocate.
John Pringle of Crichton.
Right Honourable Charles Townſhend.
George Wallace.

NOTE (B), p. 27.

From WILLIAM STRAHAN, *Esq.*
to Dr. ROBERTSON.

Rev. Sir, London, Feb. 28, 1759.

WHEN I received your farewell letter on the concluſion of your hiſtory, I was determined not to anſwer it till I could tell you, with certainty, and from my own perſonal knowledge, what reception it met with in this place. And what I am going to tell you, I dare ſay you have had from many of your friends long ago. No matter for that. Every man, and eſpecially one in my way, has an opportunity to hear the public ſentiments through many different channels. I have now waited till I could be fully informed; and as I have been particularly ſolicitous to procure authentic intelligence, you will not be diſpleaſed at my confirming what you have heard before, as we love to ſee a piece of good news in the Gazette (excuſe the vanity of the compariſon) even though we have read it a month before in all the other papers.—I don't remember to have heard any book ſo univerſally approved by the beſt judges, for what are ſold yet, have been only to ſuch. The people in the country know nothing of it, unleſs from the advertiſements; and *a Hiſtory of Scotland* is no very enticing title.

—But

—But many of the firſt diſtinction in town have peruſed it with great ſatisfaction. They wonder how a Scotch parſon, and who had never been out of Scotland, could be able to write in ſo correct, ſo clear, ſo manly, and ſo nervous a ſtyle. The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, in particular, prefers the ſtyle to that of Bolingbroke, and every body that I have either ſeen or heard of, think it one of the very beſt performances that has been exhibited for many years. As theſe are not ſuperficial judges, you may be aſſured that the fame you have acquired will be permanent, and not only permanent, but extending daily. Next week you will ſee ſome extracts from it in the Chronicle, which will ſerve to give the people at a diſtance from town ſome idea of its excellence; but without that, or any thing elſe, the report of thoſe who have read it in London, will ſoon ſpread its reputation; for the capital always gives the lead this way as well as in moſt other caſes. The impreſſion, therefore, certainly will be gone before another can be got ready. Mr. Millar has wrote to you already about reviſing it for another edition, and I think the ſooner you ſend up ſome of the ſheets, the better, that no time may be loſt. Does not this anſwer your moſt ſanguine expectations? For indeed, a more favourable reception

could not be hoped for. I moſt ſincerely wiſh you joy of your ſucceſs, and have not the leaſt doubt but it will have all the good effects upon your future fortune which you could poſſibly hope for, or expect. Much depended upon the firſt performance; that trial is now happily over, and henceforth you will ſail with a favourable gale. In truth, to acquire ſuch a flood of reputation from writing on a ſubject in itſelf ſo unpopular in this country, is neither a common, nor a contemptible conqueſt.—I will not trouble you more on a ſubject of which you muſt needs have heard a great deal from hence lately. I rejoice in your good fortune, and am with much eſteem and ſincerity, Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

WILL. STRAHAN.

The following Letter from Mr. Strahan's ſon, forms an intereſting counterpart to the foregoing article.

From ANDREW STRAHAN, *Eſq.*
to Dr. ROBERTSON.

Dear Sir, London, 19th November, 1792.

BEING at the ſea-ſide in Suſſex when I received your favour of the 26th ult. I have had no opportunity till now of acknowledging it, and

and at the ſame time informing myſelf of the ſtate of the Edition, ſo as to anſwer your queſtion.

Mr. Cadell (who is now with me, and who deſires to be affectionately remembered) is of opinion with me, that we ſhould take the enſuing ſeaſon of ſhips ſailing to India to reduce the quartos.—But we will print an edition in octavo, next ſummer, whatever may then be the ſtate of the former, and we will thank you for a correct copy at your leiſure.

The fourteenth Edition of your "*Scotland*" will be publiſhed in the courſe of the winter, during which it is our intention to adverti:e all your works ſtrongly in all the papers.—And we have the ſatisfaction of informing you, that if we may judge by the ſale of your writings, your literary reputation is daily increaſing.

I am, with much eſteem, &c.

NOTE C. p. 35.

The praiſe contained in the following letter, (though leſs profuſely beſtowed than by ſome other of Dr. Robertſon's coreſpondents,) will not appear of ſmall value to thoſe who are acquainted with the character of the writer, and with his accurate reſearches into the antiquities of Scotland.

From Sir DAVID DALRYMPLE *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Dear Sir, Edinburgh, 20th Feb. 1776.

I AM very happy in your favourable acceptance of the Annals of Scotland. Even your opinion is not enough to make me think of going beyond the Reſtoration of James I. Your Sketch of the Hiſtory from that time to the death of James V. is of itſelf ſufficient to deter me. It is very poſſible that in your delineation of the hiſtory of the five Jameſes, there may be errors and omiſſions, but you have drawn all the characters with ſuch hiſtorical truth, that if I were to work on the ſame ground, I might ſpoil and over-charge the canvas; at the ſame time, the reader would not ſee himſelf in a ſtrange country—every object would be familiar to him.

There is another reaſon, and that is a political one, for my ſtopping ſhort. Many readers might take it for granted that I would write diſfavourably of the Stewarts, from prejudice of education or family. Other readers might ſuſpect my impartiality, and thus, there would be little proſpect of my being favourably heard. If I have health to finiſh my plan, I propoſe to go back into the laws of Scotland. *That* is a work of which I muſt not loſe ſight, after I have laboured ſo long upon it *.

I ſend you a book which I have re-publiſhed, and beg your acceptance of it. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient
and obliged humble ſervant,

DAV. DALRYMPLE.

* It is much to be regretted that the work here alluded to by Lord Hailes was never carried into complete execution. The fragments, however, of ſuch a writer relative to a ſubject on which he had ſo long beſtowed attention, could not fail to be of great value; and it is to be hoped that they will one day be communicated to the public.

The following Letters, which have been kindly communicated to me by a friend of Lord Hailes, aſcertain ſome important dates with reſpect to the progreſs of Dr. Robertſon's ſtudies.

Dr. ROBERTSON *to* Lord HAILES.

Sir, Gladſmuir, 22d Oct. 1753.

I INTEND to employ ſome of the idle time of this winter in making a more diligent enquiry than ever I have done into that period of Scots Hiſtory from the death of King James V. to the death of Queen Mary. I have the more common hiſtories of that time, ſuch as Buchanan, Spottiſwood, and Knox, but there are ſeveral collections of papers by Anderſon, Jebb, Forbes, and others, which I know not how to come at. I am perſuaded you have moſt of theſe books in your library, and I flatter myſelf you will be ſo good as to allow me the uſe of them. You know better what books to ſend me, and what will be neceſſary to give any light to this part of hiſtory, than I do what to aſk, and therefore I leave the particular books to your own choice, which you'll pleaſe order to be given to my ſervant. Whatever you ſend me, ſhall be uſed with much care, and returned with great punctuality.—I

beg you may forgive this trouble. I am with great reſpect, &c.

Dr. ROBERTSON *to* Lord HAILES.

Sir, Gladſmuir, 26th July, 1757.

I HAVE now got forward to the year 1660, and as it will be impoſſible for me to ſteer through Gowrie's conſpiracy without your guidance, I muſt take advantage of the friendly offer you was pleaſed to make me, and apply to you for ſuch books and papers as you think to be neceſſary for my purpoſe.—I would wiſh to give an accurate and rational account of the matter, but not very minute. I have in my poſſeſſion Calderwood's MSS. and all the common printed hiſtories; but I have neither Lord Cromarty's account, nor any other piece particularly relative to the conſpiracy. I beg you may ſupply me with as many as you can, and direct me to any thing you think may be uſeful. The papers you are pleaſed to communicate to me, ſhall be ſhewn to no human creature, and no farther uſe ſhall be made of them than you permit. My ſervant will take great care of whatever books or papers you give him. I need not ſay how ſenſible I am of the good will with which you are pleaſed to inſtruct me in this curious point of hiſtory, nor how much I expect to profit by it. I ever am, &c.

Dr. ROBERTSON *to* Lord HAILES.

Sir, Edinburgh, 8th Nov. 1758.

I HAVE taken the liberty to ſend you incloſed a Preface to my book, which I have juſt now written. I find it very difficult for a man to ſpeak of himſelf with any decency through three or four pages. Unluckily I have been obliged to write it in the utmoſt hurry, as Strahan is clamouring for it. I think it was neceſſary to ſay all in it that I have ſaid, and yet it looks too like a puff. I ſend it to you, not only that you may do me the favour to correct any inaccuracies in the compoſition, but becauſe there is a paragraph in it which I would not preſume to publiſh without your permiſſion, though I have taken care to word it ſo modeſtly that a man might have ſaid it of himſelf. As I muſt ſend off the Preface by to-morrow's poſt, I muſt beg the favour that you would return it with your remarks to-morrow morning. I would wiſh, if poſſible, that I had time to ſhew it to Blair. I am with great reſpect, &c.

The Letters which follow, (although written many years afterwards,) may, without impropriety, be introduced here, as they all relate, more or leſs, to the Hiſtory of Scotland.

Dr. ROBERTSON *to* Lord HAILES.

My Lord, College, Feb. 10, 1776.

I HOPE your Lordſhip will forgive me for having deferred ſo long to return you my beſt thanks for the very acceptable preſent which you were pleaſed to ſend me. Previous to doing this, I wiſhed to have the ſatisfaction of peruſing the Annals again, and the opinion I had formed of their merit, is in no degree diminiſhed by an attentive review of them in their preſent dreſs.

You have given authenticity and order to a period of our Hiſtory, which has hitherto been deſtitute of both, and a Scotchman has now the pleaſure of being able to pronounce what is true, and what is fabulous, in the early part of our national ſtory. As I have no doubt with reſpect to the reception which this part of the Annals, though perhaps the leaſt intereſting, will meet with, I flatter myſelf that your Lordſhip will go on with the work. Allow me, on the public account, to hope that you have not fixed *the*

Acceſſion

Acceſſion of James I. as an impaſſable boundary beyond which you are not to advance. It is at that period, the more intereſting age of our hiſtory commences. From thence the regular ſeries of our laws begins. During the reign of the Jameſes, many things ſtill require the inveſtigation of ſuch an accurate and patient enquirer as your Lordſhip. I hope that what I have done in my review of that period, will be no reſtraint on your Lordſhip in entering upon that field. My view of it was a general one, that did not require the minute accuracy of a chronological reſearch, and if you diſcover either omiſſions or miſtakes in it, (and I dare ſay you will diſcover both,) I have no objection to your ſupplying the one, and correcting the other. Your ſtrictures on me will not be made with a hoſtile hand, and I had much rather that theſe were made, than be deprived of the advantage that I ſhall reap from your completing your work. As far as I can judge by the opinion of thoſe with whom I converſe, the public wiſh is, that you ſhould continue your Annals at leaſt to the death of James V. I moſt heartily join my voice to this general deſire, and wiſh you health to go on with what will be ſo much for the honour of your country. I am with great truth and reſpect, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient
and moſt humble ſervant.

Dr. ROBERTSON *to* Lord HAILES.

My Lord, College, March 13th, 1776.

WHEN I took the liberty of applying to your Lordſhip laſt week, I unluckily did not advert to the hurry of buſineſs during the laſt week of the Seſſion. In compliance with your requeſt, I ſhall, without preamble or apology, mention what induced me to trouble your Lordſhip.

I am now in the twenty-eighth year of my authorſhip, and the proprietors of the Hiſtory of Scotland purpoſe to end the ſecond fourteen years of their copyright ſplendidly, by publiſhing two new editions of that Book, one in quarto, and another in octavo. This has induced me to make a general review of the whole work, and to avail myſelf both of the remarks of my friends, and the ſtrictures of thoſe who differ from me in opinion. I mean not to take the field as a controverſial writer, or to ſtate myſelf in oppoſition to any antagoniſt. Wherever I am ſatisfied that I have fallen into errors, I ſhall quietly, and without reluctance, correct it. Wherever I think my ſentiments right and well eſtabliſhed, they ſhall ſtand.—In ſome few places, I ſhall illuſtrate what I have written, by materials and facts which I have diſcovered ſince the firſt publication of my book. Theſe additions will not, I hope, be very bulky, but they will

will contribute, as I imagine, to throw light on ſeveral events which have been miſtaken, or miſrepreſented. I ſhall take care, on account of the purchaſers of former editions, that all the additions and alterations of any importance, ſhall be publiſhed ſeparately, both in quarto and octavo.

As I know how thoroughly your Lordſhip is acquainted with every tranſaction in Q. Mary's reign, and with how much accuracy you are accuſtomed to examine hiſtorical facts, it was my intention to have requeſted of you, that if any error or omiſſion in my book had occurred to you in the peruſal of it, you would be ſo obliging as to communicate your ſentiments to me. I ſhall certainly receive ſuch communications with much attention and gratitude.—You have ſet me right with reſpect to the act 19th April 1567, but I think that I can ſatisfy your Lordſhip that it was eſteemed in that age, and was really a conceſſion of greater importance to the reformed than you ſeem to apprehend. I beg leave to deſire that, if you have any remarks to communicate, they may be ſent ſoon, as the Bookſellers are impatient. I truſt your Lordſhip will pardon the liberty I have taken. I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant.

Dr. ROBERTSON *to* Lord HAILES.

My Lord, College of Edinburgh, March 20, 1786.

I CONSIDER it as an unfortunate accident for me, that your Lordſhip happened to be ſo much pre-occupied at the time when I took the liberty of applying to you. I return you thanks for the communication of your notes on the acts of parliament. Beſides the entertainment and inſtruction I received from the peruſal of them, I found ſome things of uſe to me, and I have availed myſelf of the permiſſion you was pleaſed to give me.

I mentioned to your Lordſhip that I differed little from you about the effect of the act, April 19, 1567. I incloſe a copy both of the *text*, corrected as I intend to publiſh it in the new edition, and of a note which I ſhall add to explain my idea of the import of the act. I requeſt of your Lordſhip to peruſe it, and if in any part it meets not with your approbation, be ſo good as to let me know. Pleaſe to return it as ſoon as you can, that I may communicate it, and any other additions and alterations, to Mr. Davidſon, who has promiſed to reviſe them.

In 1776 your Lordſhip publiſhed the Secret Correſpondence of Sir R. Cecil with James VI. I have

I have not a copy of it, and have been unſucceſsful in my application for one to ſome of my friends. If you have a copy, and will be ſo good as to allow me the uſe of it, I ſhall return it with the greateſt care, as I do herewith the notes I received from your Lordſhip. I have attended to the notes in Bannatyne's poems. I have the Hamilton MSS. in three volumes folio. They are curious.

I have the honour to be, &c.

I ſhall ſubjoin ſome extracts from Mr. Hume's letters to Dr. Robertſon, written about this period, and a few other paſſages from different correſpondents. They ſeem to me worthy of preſervation, although the extraneous matter they contain rendered it impoſſible for me to incorporate them with my Narrative.

Mr. HUME *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

London, Liſle Street,
My dear Sir, 18th Nov. 1758.

ACCORDING to your permiſſion, I have always got your corrected ſheets from Strahan; and am glad to find, that we ſhall agree in almoſt all the material parts of our Hiſtory. Your reſo-

reſolution to aſſert the authenticity of Mary's letter to Bothwell, with the conſequence which muſt neceſſarily follow, removes the chief point, in which, I apprehend, we ſhould differ. There remain however two other points where I have not the good fortune to agree with you, *viz.* The violation of the treaty of Perth by Mary of Guiſe, and the innocency of Mary with regard to Babington's conſpiracy: but as I had written notes upon theſe paſſages, the public muſt judge between us. Only allow me to ſay, that even if you be in the right with regard to the laſt, (of which, notwithſtanding my deference to your authority, I cannot perceive the leaſt appearance,) you are certainly too ſhort and abrupt in handling it. I believe you go contrary to received opinion; and the point was of conſequence enough to merit a note or a diſſertation.

There is ſtill another point in which we differ, and which reduced me to great perplexity. You told me, that all hiſtorians had been miſtaken with regard to James's behaviour on his mother's trial and execution; that he was not really the pious ſon he pretended to be; that the appearances which deceived the world, were put on at the ſolicitation of the French Ambaſſador, Courcelles; and that I ſhould find all this proved by a manuſcript of Dr. Campbell's. I accordingly ſpoke of the matter to Dr. Campbell, who

who confirmed what you ſaid, with many additions and amplifications. I deſired to have the manuſcript, which he ſent me. But great was my ſurprize, when I found the contrary in every page, many praiſes beſtowed on the King's piety both by Courcelles and the French Court; his real grief and reſentment painted in the ſtrongeſt colours; reſolutions even taken by him to form an alliance with Philip of Spain, in order to get revenge; repeated advices given him by Courcelles and the French Miniſters, rather to conceal his reſentment, till a proper opportunity offered of taking vengeance. What moſt diſpleaſed me in this affair was, that as I thought myſelf obliged to follow the ordinary tenor of the printed hiſtorian, while you appealed to manuſcript, it would be neceſſary for me to appeal to the ſame manuſcripts, to give extracts of them, and to oppoſe your concluſions. Though I know that I could execute this matter in a friendly and obliging manner for you, yet I own that I was very uneaſy at finding myſelf under a neceſſity of obſerving any thing which might appear a miſtake in your narration. But there came to me a man this morning, who, as I fancied, gave me the key of the difficulty, but without freeing me from my perplexity. This was a man commonly employed by Millar and Strahan to decypher manuſcripts. He brought

brought me a letter of yours to Strahan, where you deſired him to apply to me in order to point out the paſſages proper to be inſerted in your Appendix, and proper to prove the aſſertion of your text. You add there, theſe letters are in the French language. I immediately concluded that you had not read the manuſcripts, but had taken it on Mr. Campbell's word: for the letters are in Engliſh, tranſlated by I know not whom from the French. I could do nothing on this occaſion but deſire Strahan to ſtop the preſs in printing the Appendix, and ſtay till I wrote to you. If I could perſuade you to change the narration of the text, that ſheet could be eaſily cancelled, and an appendix formed proper to confirm an oppoſite account. If you ſtill perſiſt in your opinion, ſomebody elſe whom you truſted, might be employed to find the proper paſſages; for I cannot find them.

There is only one paſſage which looks like your opinion, and which I ſhall tranſcribe to you. It is a relation of what paſſed between James and Courcelles upon the firſt rumour of the diſcovery of Babington's conſpiracy, before James apprehended his mother to be in any danger. "The "King ſaid he loved his mother as much as na- "ture and duty bound him; but he could not "love her : For he knew well "ſhe bore him no more good-will than ſhe did "to

" to the Queen of England: That he had ſeen
" with his own eyes, before Foulnaye's depar-
" ture out of Scotland, a letter to him, whereby
" ſhe ſent him word, that if he would not con-
" form himſelf to her will, and follow her coun-
" ſels and advice, that he ſhould content himſelf
" with the lordſhip of Darnley, which was all
" that appertained unto him by his father:
" Farther, that he had ſeen other letters under
" her own hand, confirming her evil towards
" him: Beſides, that ſhe had oftentimes gone
" about to make a regency in Scotland, and to
" put him beſides the Crown; that it behoved
" him to think of his own affairs, and that he
" thought the Queen of England would attempt
" nothing againſt her perſon without making
" him acquainted: That his mother was hence-
" forward to carry herſelf both towards him and
" the Queen of England after another ſort,
" without bending any more upon ſuch practices
" and intelligences as ſhe had in former times:
" That he hoped to ſet ſuch perſons about her
" as." (Here the manuſcript is not farther legible.)
But though ſuch were James's ſentiments before he apprehended his mother to be in danger, he adopted a directly oppoſite conduct afterwards, as I told you. I can only expreſs my wiſhes that you may ſee reaſon to conform your narrative in

vol.

vol. ii. p. 139, 140. to this account, or omit that Appendix altogether, or find ſome other perſon who can better execute your intentions than it is poſſible for me to do.

Mr. HUME *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

My dear Sir, 27th January, 1759.

WHAT I wrote you with regard to Mary's concurrence in the conſpiracy againſt Queen Elizabeth, was from the printed hiſtories of papers; and nothing ever appeared to me more evident. Your chief objection, I ſee, is derived from one circumſtance, that neither the ſecretaries nor conſpirators were confronted with Mary; but you muſt conſider that the law did not then require this confrontation, and it was in no caſe the practice. The Crown could not well grant it in one caſe without granting it in all, becauſe the refuſing of it would then have been a ſtrong preſumption of innocence in the priſoner. Yet as Mary's was an extraordinary caſe, Elizabeth was willing to have granted it. I find in Forbes's MS. papers, ſent me by Lord Royſton, a letter of hers to Burleigh and Walſingham, wherein ſhe tells them, that, if they thought proper, they might carry down the two ſecretaries to Fotheringay, in order to confront them with her. But they reply, that they think it needleſs.

But I am now ſorry to tell you, that by Murden's State Papers, which are printed, the matter is put beyond all queſtion. I got theſe papers during the holidays by Dr. Birch's means; and as ſoon as I had read them, I ran to Millar, and deſired him very earneſtly to ſtop the publication of your Hiſtory till I ſhould write to you, and give you an opportunity of correcting a miſtake of ſo great moment; but he abſolutely refuſed compliance. He ſaid that your book was now finiſhed, that the copies would be ſhipped for Scotland in two days, that the whole narration of Mary's trial muſt be wrote over again; that this would require time, and it was uncertain whether the new narrative could be brought within the ſame compaſs with the old; that this change, he ſaid, would require the cancelling a great many ſheets; that there were ſcattered paſſages through the volumes founded on your theory, and theſe muſt alſo be all cancelled, and that this change required the new printing of a great part of the edition. For theſe reaſons, which do not want force, he refuſed, after deliberation, to ſtop his publication, and I was obliged to acquieſce. Your beſt apology at preſent is, that you could not poſſibly ſee the grounds of Mary's guilt, and every equitable perſon will excuſe you.

I am ſorry, on many accounts, that you did not ſee this Collection of Murden's. Among other curioſities, there are ſeveral inſtructions to H. Killigrew, dated 10th Sept. 1572. He was then ſent into Scotland. It there appears, that the Regents, Murray and Lennox, had deſired Mary to be put into their hands, in order to try her and put her to death. Elizabeth there offers to Regent Mar to deliver her up, provided good ſecurity were given, "that ſhe ſhould receive "that ſhe hath deſerved there by order of "Juſtice, whereby no further peril ſhould enſue "by her eſcaping, or by ſetting her up again." It is probable, Mar refuſed compliance, for no ſteps were taken towards it.

I am nearly printed out, and ſhall be ſure to ſend you a copy by the ſtage-coach, or ſome other conveyance. I beg of you to make remarks as you go along. It would have been much better had we communicated before printing, which was always my deſire, and was moſt ſuitable to the friendſhip which always did, and I hope always will, ſubſiſt between us. I ſpeak this chiefly on my own account. For though I had the peruſal of your ſheets before I printed, I was not able to derive ſufficient benefits from them, or indeed to make any alteration by their aſſiſtance. There ſtill remain, I fear, many errors,

errors, of which you could have convinced me, if we had canvaſſed the matter in converſation. Perhaps I might alſo have been ſometimes no leſs fortunate with you. Particularly I could almoſt undertake to convince you, that the Earl of Murray's conduct with the Duke of Norfolk was no way diſhonourable.

I have ſeen a copy of your Hiſtory with Charles Stanhope. Lord Willoughby, who had been there reading ſome paſſages of it, ſaid, that you was certainly miſtaken with regard to the act paſſed in the laſt parliament of Mary, ſettling the Reformation. He ſaid that the act of parliament the firſt of James was no proof of it: for though that ſtatute contains a ſtatute where the Queen's name was employed, yet that is always the caſe with the bills brought into parliament, even though they receive not the Royal Aſſent, nor perhaps paſs the Houſes. I wiſh this be not the caſe, conſidering the teſtimony of Buchanan, Calderwood, and Spotſwood, Beſides, if the bill had before received the Royal Aſſent, what neceſſity of repeating it, or paſſing it again? Mary's title was more undiſputable than James's.

Dr. Blair tells me, that Prince Edward is reading you, and is charmed. I hear the ſame of the Princeſs and Prince of Wales. But what will really give you pleaſure, I lent my copy to

Elliot during the holidays, who thinks it one of the fineſt performances he ever read; and though he expected much, he finds more. He remarked, however, (which is alſo my opinion,) that in the beginning, before your pen was ſufficiently accuſtomed to the hiſtoric ſtyle, you employ too many digreſſions and reflections. This was alſo ſomewhat my own caſe, which I have corrected in my new edition.

Millar was propoſing to publiſh me about the middle of March, but I ſhall communicate to him your deſire, even though I think it entirely groundleſs, as you will likewiſe think after you have read my volume. He has very needleſsly delayed your publication till the firſt of February, at the deſire of the Edinburgh bookſellers, who could no way be affected by a publication in London. I was exceedingly ſorry not to be able to comply with your deſire, when you expreſſed your wiſh, that I ſhould not write this period. I could not write downward. For when you find occaſion, by new diſcoveries, to correct your opinion with regard to facts which paſſed in Queen Elizabeth's days; who, that has not the beſt opportunities of informing himſelf, could venture to relate any recent tranſactions? I muſt therefore have abandoned altogether this ſcheme of the Engliſh Hiſtory, in which I had

proceeded

proceeded ſo far, if I had not acted as I did. You will ſee what light and force this Hiſtory of the Tudors beſtows on that of the Stewarts. Had I been prudent, I ſhould have begun with it. I care not to boaſt, but I will venture to ſay, that I have now effectually ſtopped the mouths of all thoſe villanous Whigs who railed at me.

You are ſo kind as to aſk me about my coming down. I can yet anſwer nothing. I have the ſtrangeſt reluctance to change places. I lived ſeveral years happy with my brother at Nine-wells, and had not his marriage changed a little the ſtate of the family, I believe I ſhould have lived and died there. I uſed every expedient to evade this journey to London, yet it is now uncertain whether I ſhall ever leave it. I have had ſome invitations, and ſome intentions of taking a trip to Paris; but I believe it will be ſafer for me not to go thither, for I might probably ſettle there for life. No one was ever endowed with ſo great a portion of the *vis inertiæ*. But as I live here very privately, and avoid as much as poſſible (and it is eaſily poſſible) all connexions with the Great, I believe I ſhould be better at Edinburgh.

Mr. HUME *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

London, 8th Feb. 1759.

AS to the *Age of Leo the Tenth*, it was Warton himſelf who intended to write it; but he has not wrote it, and probably never will. If I underſtand your hint, I ſhould conjecture, that you had ſome thoughts of taking up the ſubject. But how can you acquire knowledge of the great works of Sculpture, Architecture, and Painting, by which that age was chiefly diſtinguiſhed? Are you verſed in all the anecdotes of the Italian Literature? Theſe queſtions I heard propoſed in a company of Literati when I enquired concerning this deſign of Warton. They applied their remarks to that gentleman, who yet, they ſay, has travelled. I wiſh they do not all of them fall more fully on you. However, you muſt not be idle. May I venture to ſuggeſt to you the Ancient Hiſtory, particularly that of Greece? I think Rollin's ſucceſs might encourage you, nor need you be in the leaſt intimidated by his merit. That author has no other merit but a certain facility and ſweetneſs of narration, but has loaded his work with fifty puerilities.

Our

Our friend, Wedderburn, is advancing with great ſtrides in his Profeſſion. * * *

I deſire my compliments to Lord Elibank. I hope his Lordſhip has forgot his vow of anſwering us, and of waſhing Queen Mary white. I am afraid that is impoſſible; but his Lordſhip is very well qualified to gild her.

I am, &c.

Mr. HUME *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

* * * * *

I forgot to tell you, that two days ago I was in the Houſe of Commons, where an Engliſh gentleman came to me, and told me, that he had lately ſent to a grocer's ſhop for a pound of raiſins, which he received wrapt up in a paper that he ſhewed me. How would you have turned pale at the ſight! It was a leaf of your Hiſtory, and the very character of Queen Elizabeth, which you had laboured ſo finely, little thinking it would ſo ſoon come to ſo diſgraceful an end.—I happened a little after to ſee Millar, and told him the ſtory; conſulting him, to be ſure, on the fate of his new boaſted Hiſtorian, of whom he was ſo fond. But the ſtory proves

more ſerious than I apprehended. For he told Strahan, who thence ſuſpects villany among his prentices and journeymen; and has ſent me very earneſtly to know the gentleman's name, that he may find out the grocer, and trace the matter to the bottom. In vain did I remonſtrate that this was ſooner or later the fate of all Authors, *ſerius, ocyus, ſors exitura.* He will not be ſatisfied; and begs me to keep my jokes for another occaſion. But that I am reſolved not to do; and therefore, being repulſed by his paſſion and ſerioufneſs, I direct them againſt you.

Next week, I am publiſhed; and then, I expect a conſtant compariſon will be made between Dr. Robertſon and Mr. Hume. I ſhall tell you in a few weeks which of theſe Heroes is likely to prevail. Meanwhile, I can inform both of them for their comforts, that their combat is not likely to make half ſo much noiſe as that between Broughton and the one-eyed coachman. *Vanitas vanitatum, atque omnia vanitas.* I ſhall ſtill except, however, the friendſhip and good opinion of worthy men.

I am, &c.

Mr. HUME *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

My Dear Sir, London, 12th March, 1759.

I BELIEVE I mentioned to you, a French Gentleman, Monſieur Helvetius, whoſe book, De l'Eſprit, was making a great noiſe in Europe. He is a very fine genius, and has the character of a very worthy man. My name is mentioned ſeveral times in his work with marks of eſteem; and he has made me an offer, if I would tranſlate his work into Engliſh, to tranſlate a-new all my philoſophical writings into French. He ſays, that none of them are well done, except that on the Natural Hiſtory of Religion, by Monſieur Matigny, a Counſellor of State. He added, that the Abbé Prevot, celebrated for the *Memoires d'un Homme d'Honneur*, and other entertaining books, was juſt now tranſlating my Hiſtory. This account of Helvetius engaged me to ſend him over the new editions of all my writings; and I have added your Hiſtory, which, I told him, was here publiſhed with great applauſe; adding, that the ſubject was intereſting and the execution maſterly; and that it was probable ſome man of letters at Paris may think that a tranſlation of it would be agreeable to the

the public. I thought that this was the beſt method of executing your intentions. I could not expect that any Frenchman here would be equal to the work. There is one Carracioli, who came to me and ſpoke of tranſlating my new volume of Hiſtory; but as he alſo mentioned his intentions of tranſlating Smollet, I gave him no encouragement to proceed. The ſame reaſon would make me averſe to ſee you in his hands.

But though I have given this character of your work to Monſieur Helvetius, I warn you, that this is the laſt time, that, either to Frenchman or Engliſhman, I ſhall ever ſpeak the leaſt good of it. A plague take you! Here I ſat near the hiſtorical ſummit of Parnaſſus, immediately under Dr. Smollet; and you have the impudence to ſqueeze yourſelf by me, and place yourſelf directly under his feet. Do you imagine that this can be agreeable to me? And muſt not I be guilty of great ſimplicity to contribute by my endeavours to your thruſting me out of my place in Paris as well as at London? But I give you warning that you will find the matter ſomewhat difficult, at leaſt in the former city. A friend of mine, who is there, writes home to his father, the ſtrangeſt accounts on that head; which my modeſty will not permit me

me to repeat, but which it allowed me very deliciouſly to ſwallow.

I have got a good reaſon or pretence for excuſing me to Monſieur Helvetius with regard to the tranſlating his work. A tranſlation of it was previouſly advertiſed here. I remain, &c.

Mr. HUME *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

My Dear Sir, London, 29th May 1759.

I HAD a letter from Helvetius lately, wrote before your book arrived at Paris. He tells me, that the Abbé Prevot, who had juſt finiſhed the tranſlation of my Hiſtory, *paroit très-diſpoſé à traduire l'Hiſtoire d'Ecoſſe que vient de faire Monſieur Robertſon.* If he be engaged by my perſuaſion, I ſhall have the ſatisfaction of doing you a real credit and pleaſure: for he is one of the beſt pens in Paris.

I looked with great impatience in your new edition for the note you ſeemed to intend with regard to the breach of the capitulation of Perth; and was much diſappointed at miſſing it. I own that I am very curious on that head. I cannot ſo much as imagine a colour upon which their accuſations could poſſibly be founded. The articles were only two; indemnity to the inhabitants,

bitants, and the excluſion of French ſoldiers—now that Scotch national troops were not Frenchmen and foreigners ſeems pretty apparent: and both Knox and the manifeſto of the Congregation acquit the Queen-Regent of any breach of the firſt article, as I had obſerved in my note to page 422. This makes me ſuſpect that ſome facts have eſcaped me; and I beg you to indulge my curioſity by informing me of them.

* * * * *

Our friend Smith † is very ſucceſsful here, and Gerard ‡ is very well received. The Epigoniad I cannot ſo much promiſe for, though I have done all in my power to forward it, particularly by writing a letter to the Critical Review, which you may peruſe. I find, however, ſome good judges profeſs a great eſteem for it, but *habent et ſua fata libelli:* however, if you want a little flattery to the author, (which I own is very refreſhing to an author,) you may tell him that Lord Cheſterfield ſaid to me he was a great Poet. I imagine that Wilkie will be very much elevated by praiſe from an Engliſh Earl, and a Knight of the Garter, and an Ambaſſador, and a Secretary

† Theory of Moral Sentiments. ‡ Eſſay on Taſte.

of

of State, and a man of ſo great reputation. For I obſerve that the greateſt ruſtics are commonly moſt affected with ſuch circumſtances.

Fergusſon's book † has a great deal of genius and fine writing, and will appear in time.

* * * *

From Dr. BIRCH *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Dear Sir, London, Feb. 8th, 1759.

I HAVE juſt read over the ſecond volume of your excellent Hiſtory; and the ſatisfaction which I have received from the peruſal of it, and the gratitude which I owe you for the honour done me in it, as well as for ſo valuable a preſent, will not permit me to loſe one poſt in returning you my ſincereſt acknowledgments. My Lord Royſton likewiſe deſires me to tranſmit to you his thanks and compliments in the ſtrongeſt terms.

Though your work has been ſcarce a fortnight in the hands of the public, I can already inform you, upon the authority of the beſt judges, that the ſpirit and elegance of the compoſition, and the candour, moderation, and

† Eſſay on the Hiſtory of Civil Society.

humanity, which run through it, will ſecure you the general approbation both of the preſent age and poſterity, and raiſe the character of our country in a ſpecies of writing, in which of all others it has been moſt defective.

If the ſecond volume of the State Papers of Lord Burghley, publiſhed ſince Chriſtmas here, had appeared before your Hiſtory had been finiſhed, it would have furniſhed you with reaſons for entertaining a leſs favourable opinion of Mary Queen of Scots in one or two points, than you ſeem at preſent poſſeſſed of. The principal is with regard to her laſt intrigues and correſpondences which were the immediate cauſe of her death. And I could wiſh you had likewiſe ſeen a manuſcript account of her trial in Lord Royſton's poſſeſſion. This account is much fuller than Camden's, whoſe Hiſtory is juſtly to be ſuſpected in every thing relating to her; or than any other, that has yet ſeen the light. It contains ſo ample a ſtate of the evidence produced of her guilt, as, I think, leaves no doubt of it; notwithſtanding that the witneſſes were not confronted with her; a manner of proceeding, which, though certainly due to every perſon accuſed, was not uſual either before her time or long after.

You

You conclude in the Note, vol. i. p. 307, in favour of her innocence from any criminal intrigue with Rizzio, from the ſilence of Randolph on that head. But I apprehend, that in oppoſition to this allegation you may be urged with the joint letter of that gentleman and the Earl of Bedford of 27th March 1566, in your Appendix, No. xv. p. 22.

I deſire you to make my compliments acceptable to Sir David Dalrymple and Mr. Davidſon, and believe me to be, &c.

THOMAS BIRCH.

From Sir GILBERT ELLIOT *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Dear Sir, Admiralty, January 20th, 1759.

MILLAR has juſt ſent me the Hiſtory of Scotland. I cannot imagine why he ſhould delay the publication ſo long as the firſt of February, for I well know that the printing has been completed a great while. You could have ſent me no preſent, which on its own account I ſhould have eſteemed ſo much; but you have greatly enhanced its value, by allowing me to accept

accept it as a memorial and teſtimony of a friendſhip which I have long cultivated with equal ſatisfaction and ſincerity. I am no ſtranger to your book, though your copy is but juſt put into my hands: David Hume ſo far indulged my impatience, as to allow me to carry to the country during the holydays, the looſe ſheets, which he happened to have by him. In that condition I read it quite through with the greateſt ſatisfaction, and in much leſs time than I ever employed on any portion of hiſtory of the ſame length. I had certainly neither leiſure nor inclination to exerciſe the function of a Critic; carried along with the ſtream of the narration, I only felt, when I came to the concluſion, that you had greatly exceeded the expectations I had formed, though I do aſſure you theſe were not a little ſanguine. If, upon a more deliberate peruſal, I diſcover any blemiſh, I ſhall point it out without any ſcruple: at preſent, it ſeems to me that you have rendered the period you treat of as intereſting as any part of our Britiſh ſtory; the views you open of policy, manners, and religion, are ingenious, ſolid, and deep. Your work will certainly be ranked in the higheſt hiſtorical claſs; and for my own part, I think it beſides, a compoſition

of

of uncommon genius and eloquence.—I was afraid you might have been interrupted by the Reformation, but I find it much otherwiſe; you treat it with great propriety, and, in my opinion, with ſufficient freedom. No revolution, whether civil or religious, can be accompliſhed without that degree of ardour and paſſion, which, in a later age, will be matter of ridicule to men who do not feel the occaſion, and enter into the ſpirit of the times. But I muſt not get into diſſertations;—I hope you will ever believe me, with great regard,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient and faithful Servant,

GILB. ELLIOT.

NOTE D. p. 86.

From BARON D'HOLBACH *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Sir, Paris, the 30th of May 1768.

I RECEIVED but a few days ago the favour of your letter, ſent to me by Mr. Andrew Stuart; I am very proud of being inſtrumental in contributing to the tranſlation of the valuable work you are going to publiſh. The excellent work you have publiſhed already is a ſure ſign of the

reception your Hiſtory of Charles V. will meet with in the Continent; ſuch an intereſting ſubject deſerves undoubtedly the attention of all Europe. You are very much in the right of being afraid of the hackney tranſlators of Holland and Paris; accordingly I thought it my duty to find out an able hand capable of anſwering your deſire. M. Suard, a gentleman well known for his ſtyle in French, and his knowledge in the Engliſh language, has, at my requeſt, undertaken the tranſlation of your valuable book; I know nobody in this country capable of performing better ſuch a grand deſign. Conſequently the beſt way will be for your bookſeller, as ſoon as he publiſhes one ſheet, to ſend it immediately *à Monſieur M. Suard, Directeur de la Gazette de France, rue St. Roch à Paris.* By means of this the ſheets of your book will be tranſlated as ſoon as they come from the preſs, provided the bookſeller of London is very ſtrict in not ſhewing the ſame favour to any other man upon the Continent.

I have the honour to be,

With great conſideration,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient and humble Servant,

D'HOLBACH.

NOTE E. p. 100.

THE following Letters have no immediate connection with the hiſtory of Dr. Robertſon's Life, but, I truſt, that no apology is neceſſary for their inſertion here.

From Mr. HUME *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Dear Robertſon, Paris, 1ſt December, 1763.

AMONG other agreeable circumſtances, which attend me at Paris, I muſt mention that of having a Lady for a tranſlator, a woman of merit, the widow of an advocate. She was before very poor, and known but to few; but this work has got her reputation, and procured her a penſion from the Court, which ſets her at her eaſe. She tells me, that ſhe has got a habit of induſtry; and would continue, if I could point out to her any other Engliſh book ſhe could undertake, without running the riſque of being anticipated by any other tranſlator. Your Hiſtory of Scotland is tranſlated, and is in the preſs: but I recommended to her your Hiſtory of Charles V. and promiſed to write to

you, in order to know when it would be printed, and to deſire you to ſend over the ſheets from London as they came from the preſs; I ſhould put them into her hands, and ſhe would by that means have the ſtart of every other tranſlator. My two volumes laſt publiſhed are at preſent in the preſs. She has a very eaſy natural ſtyle: ſometimes ſhe miſtakes the ſenſe; but I now correct her manuſcript; and ſhould be happy to render you the ſame ſervice, if my leiſure permit me, as I hope it will. Do you aſk me about my courſe of life? I can only ſay, that I eat nothing but ambroſia, drink nothing but nectar, breathe nothing but incenſe, and tread on nothing but flowers. Every man I meet, and ſtill more every lady, would think they were wanting in the moſt indiſpenſable duty, if they did not make to me a long and elaborate harangue in my praiſe. What happened laſt week, when I had the honour of being preſented to the D——n's children at Verſailles, is one of the moſt curious ſcenes I have yet paſſed through. The Duc de B. the eldeſt, a boy of ten years old, ſtepped forth, and told me how many friends and admirers I had in this country, and that he reckoned himſelf in the number, from the pleaſure he had received from the reading

reading of many paſſages in my works. When he had finiſhed, his brother, the Count de P. who is two years younger, began his diſcourſe, and informed me, that I had been long and impatiently expected in France; and that he himſelf expected ſoon to have great ſatisfaction from the reading of my fine Hiſtory. But what is more curious; when I was carried thence to the Count d'A. who is but four years of age, I heard him mumble ſomething, which, though he had forgot it in the way, I conjectured from ſome ſcattered words, to have been alſo a panegyric dictated to him. Nothing could more ſurpriſe my friends, the Pariſian Philoſophers, than this incident. * * *

* * * * *

* * It is conjectured that this honour was payed me by expreſs order from the D. who, indeed, is not, on any occaſion, ſparing in my praiſe.

All this attention and panegyric was at firſt oppreſſive to me; but now it ſits more eaſy. I have recovered, in ſome meaſure, the uſe of the language, and am falling into friendſhips, which are very agreeable; much more ſo than ſilly, diſtant admiration. They now begin to banter me, and tell droll ſtories of me, which

they have either obſerved themſelves, or have heard from others; ſo that you ſee I am beginning to be at home. It is probable, that this place will be long my home. I feel little inclination to the factious barbarians of London; and have ever deſired to remain in the place where I am planted. How much more ſo, when it is the beſt place in the world? I could here live in great abundance on the half of my income; for there is no place where money is ſo little requiſite to a man who is diſtinguiſhed either by his birth or by perſonal qualities. I could run out, you ſee, in a panegyric on the people; but you would ſuſpect, that this was a mutual convention between us. However, I cannot forbear obſerving, on what a different footing learning and the learned are here, from what they are among the factious barbarians above mentioned.

I have here met with a prodigious hiſtorical curioſity, the Memoirs of King James II. in fourteen volumes, all wrote with his own hand, and kept in the Scots College. I have looked into it, and have made ſome diſcoveries. It will be all communicated to me; and I have had an offer of acceſs to the Secretary of State's office, if I want to know the diſpatches of any French Miniſter

Miniſter that reſided in London. But theſe matters are much out of my head. I beg of you to viſit Lord Mariſchal, who will be pleaſed with your company. I have little paper remaining and leſs time; and therefore conclude abruptly, by aſſuring you that I am,

Dear Doctor,

Yours ſincerely,

DAVID HUME.

From Mr. HUME *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

My dear Sir, London, 19th March, 1767.

YOU do extremely right in applying to me wherever it is the leaſt likely I can ſerve you or any of your friends. I conſulted immediately with General Conway, who told me, as I ſuſpected, that the chaplains to forts and garriſons were appointed by the War Office, and did not belong to his department. Unhappily I have but a ſlight acquaintance with Lord Barrington, and cannot venture to aſk him any favour; but I ſhall call on Pryce Campbell, though not of my acquaintance, and ſhall enquire of him the canals through which this affair

may be conducted: perhaps it may lie in my power to facilitate it by ſome means or other.

I ſhall endeavour to find out the unhappy philoſopher you mention, though it will be difficult for me to do him any ſervice. He is an ingenious man, but unfortunate in his conduct, particularly in the early part of his life. The world is ſo cruel as never to overlook thoſe flaws; and nothing but hypocriſy can fully cover them from obſervation. There is not ſo effectual a ſcourer of reputations in the world. I wiſh that I had never parted with that *Lixivium*, in caſe I ſhould at any future time have occaſion for it.

* * * * *

* * A few days before my arrival in London, Mr. Davenport had carried to Mr. Conway a letter of Rouſſeau's, in which that philoſopher ſays, that he had never meant to refuſe the King's bounty, that he would be proud of accepting it, but that he would owe it entirely to his Majeſty's generoſity and that of his Miniſters, and would refuſe it if it came through any other canal whatſoever, even that of Mr. Davenport. Mr. Davenport then addreſſed himſelf to Mr. Conway, and aſked whether

ther it was not poſſible to recover what this man's madneſs had thrown away? The Secretary replied, that I ſhould be in London in a few days, and that he would take no ſteps in the affair but at my deſire and with my approbation. When the matter was propoſed to me, I exhorted the General to do this act of charity to a man of genius, however wild and extravagant. The King, when applied to, ſaid, that ſince the penſion had once been promiſed, it ſhould be granted notwithſtanding all that had paſſed in the interval. And thus the affair is happily finiſhed, unleſs ſome new extravagance come acroſs the philoſopher, and engage him to reject what he has a-new applied for. If he knew my ſituation with General Conway he probably would: for he muſt then conjecture that the affair could not be done without my conſent.

Ferguſon's book goes on here with great ſucceſs. A few days ago I ſaw Mrs. Montague, who had juſt finiſhed it with great pleaſure: I mean, ſhe was ſorry to finiſh it, but had read it with great pleaſure. I aſked her, Whether ſhe was ſatisfied with the ſtyle? Whether it did not favour ſomewhat of the country? O yes, ſaid ſhe, a great deal: it ſeems almoſt impoſſible that any one could write ſuch a ſtyle except a Scotſman.

I find

I find you prognoſticate a very ſhort date to my adminiſtration: I really believe that few (but not evil) will be my days. My abſence will not probably allow my claret time to ripen, much leſs to ſour. However that may be, I hope to drink out the remainder of it with you in mirth and jollity. I am ſincerely yours *uſque ad aras.*

DAVID HUME.

In comparing the amiable qualities diſplayed in Mr. Hume's familiar letters, and (according to the univerſal teſtimony of his friends) exhibited in the whole tenor of his private conduct, with thoſe paſſages in his metaphyſical writings which ſtrike at the root of the moral and religious principles of our nature, I have ſometimes pleaſed myſelf with recollecting the ingenious argument againſt the theories of Epicurus, which Cicero deduces from the hiſtory of that philoſopher's life. "Ac mihi quidem, quod et ipſe "vir bonus fuit, et multi Epicurei fuerunt et "hodie ſunt et in amicitia fideles, et in omni "vita conſtantes et graves, nec voluptate ſed "officio conſilia moderantes, hoc videtur major "vis honeſtatis et minor voluptatis. Ita enim "vivunt quidam, ut eorum vita refellatur oratio.

"Atque

" Atque ut ceteri exiſtimantur dicere melius " quam facere, ſic hi mihi videntur facere melius " quam dicere."

NOTE F. p. 130.

I have allotted this Note for ſome Letters from Mr. Gibbon to Dr. Robertſon, which appeared to me likely to intereſt the public curioſity.

Mr. GIBBON *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Bentinck Street, Nov. the 3d, 1779.

* * * * *

WHEN I expreſs my ſtrong hope that you will viſit London next ſpring, I muſt acknowledge that it is of the moſt intereſting kind. Beſides the pleaſure which I ſhall enjoy in your ſociety and converſation, I cheriſh the expectation of deriving much benefit from your candid and friendly criticiſm. The remainder of my firſt period of the Decline and Fall, &c. which will end with the ruin of the Weſtern Empire, is already very far advanced; but the ſubject has already grown ſo much under my hands, that it will form a ſecond and third volume in quarto, which will probably go to the preſs in the

the courſe of the enſuing ſummer.—Perhaps you have ſeen in the papers, that I was appointed ſome time ago one of the Lords of Trade; but I believe you are enough acquainted with the country to judge, that the buſineſs of my new office has not much interrupted the progreſs of my ſtudies. The attendance in Parliament is indeed more laborious; I apprehend a rough ſeſſion, and fear I that a black cloud is gathering in Ireland.

Be ſo good as to preſent my ſincere compliments to Mr. Smith, Mr. Ferguſon, and if he ſhould ſtill be with you, to Dr. Gillies, for whoſe acquaintance I eſteem myſelf much indebted to you. I have often conſidered, with ſome ſort of envy, the valuable ſociety which you poſſeſs in ſo narrow a compaſs.

I am, Dear Sir,
With the higheſt regard,
Moſt faithfully yours,

E. GIBBON.

Mr. GIBBON *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Dear Sir, London, September 1, 1783.

YOUR candid and friendly interpretation will aſcribe to buſineſs, to ſtudy, to pleaſure, to conſtitutional

conſtitutional indolence, or to any other venial cauſe, the guilt of neglecting ſo valuable a correſpondent as yourſelf. I ſhould have thanked you for the opportunities which you have afforded me of forming an acquaintance with ſeveral men of merit who deſerve your friendſhip, and whoſe character and converſation ſuggeſt a very pleaſing idea of the ſociety which you enjoy at Edinburgh.—I muſt at the ſame time lament, that the hurry of a London life has not allowed me to obtain ſo much as I could have wiſhed, of their company, and muſt have given them an unfavourable opinion of my hoſpitality, unleſs they have weighed with indulgence the various obſtacles of time and place. Mr. Stewart I had not even the pleaſure of ſeeing; he paſſed through this city in his way to Paris, while I was confined with a painful fit of the gout, and in the ſhort interval of his ſtay, the hours of meeting which were mutually propoſed, could not be made to agree with our reſpective engagements. Mr. Dalzel, who is undoubtedly a modeſt and learned man, I have had the pleaſure of ſeeing; but his arrival has unluckily fallen on a time of year, and a particular year, in which I have been very little in town. I ſhould rejoice if I could repay theſe loſſes by a viſit to Edin-

burgh, a more tranquil ſcene, to which yourſelf, and our friend Mr. Adam Smith, would powerfully attract me. But this project, which, in a leiſure hour has often amuſed my fancy, muſt now be reſigned, or muſt be poſtponed at leaſt to a very diſtant period. In a very few days, (before I could receive the favour of an anſwer,) I ſhall begin my journey to Lauſanne in Switzerland, where I ſhall fix my reſidence, in a delightful ſituation, with a dear and excellent friend of that country; ſtill mindful of my Britiſh friends, but renouncing, without reluctance, the tumult of parliament, the hopes and fears, the prejudices and paſſions of political life, to which my nature has always been averſe. Our noble friend Lord Loughborough has endeavoured to divert me from this reſolution; he riſes every day in dignity and reputation, and if the means of patronage had not been ſo ſtrangely reduced by our modern reformers, I am perſuaded his conſtant and liberal kindneſs would more than ſatisfy the moderate deſires of a philoſopher. What I cannot hope for from the favour of Miniſters, I muſt patiently expect from the courſe of nature; and this exile, which I do not view in a very gloomy light, will be terminated in due time, by the deaths of aged ladies,

ladies, whoſe inheritance will place me in an eaſy and even affluent ſituation. But theſe particulars are only deſigned for the ear of friendſhip.

I have already diſpatched to Lauſanne, two immenſe caſes of books, the tools of my hiſtorical manufacture; others I ſhall find on the ſpot, and that country is not deſtitute of public and private libraries, which will be freely opened for the uſe of a man of letters. The tranquil leiſure which I ſhall enjoy, will be partly employed in the proſecution of my hiſtory; but although my diligence will be quickened by the proſpect of returning to England, to publiſh the laſt volumes (three, I am afraid) of this laborious work, yet I ſhall proceed with cautious ſteps to compoſe and to correct, and the dryneſs of my undertaking will be relieved by mixture of more elegant and claſſical ſtudies, more eſpecially of the Greek authors. Such good company will, I am ſure, be pleaſant to the Hiſtorian, and I am inclined to believe that it will be beneficial to the work itſelf. I have been lately much flattered with the praiſe of Dr. Blair, and a cenſure of the Abbé de Mably; both of them are preciſely the men from whom I could wiſh to obtain praiſe and cenſure,

cenſure, and both theſe gratifications I have the pleaſure of ſharing with yourſelf. The Abbé appears to hate, and affects to deſpiſe, every writer of his own times, who has been well received by the public; and Dr. Blair, who is a maſter in one ſpecies of compoſition, has diſplayed, on every ſubject, the warmeſt feeling, and the moſt accurate judgment.—I will frankly own that my pride is elated, as often as I find myſelf ranked in the triumvirate of Britiſh Hiſtorians of the preſent age, and though I feel myſelf the Lepidus, I contemplate with pleaſure the ſuperiority of my colleagues. Will you be ſo good as to aſſure Dr. A. Smith of my regard and attachment. I conſider myſelf as writing to both, and will not fix him for a ſeparate anſwer. My direction is, A Monſieur Monſieur Gibbon à Lauſanne en Suiſſe. I ſhall often plume myſelf on the friendſhip of Dr. Robertſon, but muſt I tell foreigners, that while the meaner heroes fight, Achilles has retired from the war? I am,

My Dear Sir,

Moſt affectionately yours,

E. GIBBON.

From Mr. GIBBON *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Dear Sir, Lord Sheffield's, Downing Street, March 26, 1788.

AN error in your direction (to Wimpole Street, where I never had an houſe) delayed ſome time the delivery of your very obliging letter, but that delay is not ſufficient to excuſe me for not taking an earlier notice of it. Perhaps the number of minute but indiſpenſible cares that ſeem to multiply before the hour of publication, may prove a better apology, eſpecially with a friend who has himſelf paſſed through the ſame labours to the ſame conſummation. The important day is now fixed to the eighth of May, and it was choſen by Cadell, as it coincides with the end of the fifty-firſt year of the Author's age. That honeſt and liberal Bookſeller has invited me to celebrate the double feſtival, by a dinner at his houſe.—Some of our common friends will be preſent, but we ſhall all lament your abſence, and that of Dr. Adam Smith (whoſe health and welfare will always be moſt intereſting to me); and it gives me real concern that the time of your viſits to the metropolis, has not agreed with my tranſient reſidence in my native country. I am grateful for the op-

portunity with which you furniſh me of again peruſing your works in their moſt improved ſtate; and I have deſired Cadell to diſpatch, for the uſe of my two Edinburgh friends, two copies of the laſt three volumes of my Hiſtory. Whatever may be the inconſtancy of taſte or faſhion, a rational lover of fame may be ſatisfied if he deſerves and obtains your approbation. The praiſe which has ever been the moſt flattering to my ear is, to find my name aſſociated with the names of Robertſon and Hume; and provided I can maintain my place in the triumvirate, I am indifferent at what diſtance I am ranked below my companions and maſters.

With regard to my preſent work, I am inclined to believe, that it ſurpaſſes in variety and entertainment at leaſt the ſecond and third volumes. A long and eventful period is compreſſed into a ſmaller ſpace, and the new barbarians who now aſſault and ſubvert the Roman Empire, enjoy the advantage of ſpeaking their own language, and relating their own exploits.

After the publication of theſe laſt volumes, which extend to the ſiege of Conſtantinople, and compriſe the ruins of Ancient Rome, I ſhall retire (in about two months) to Lauſanne, and my friends will be pleaſed to hear that I enjoy in that retreat, as much repoſe, and even

happineſs, as is conſiſtent, perhaps, with the human condition. At proper intervals, I hope to repeat my viſits to England, but no change of circumſtance or ſituation will probably tempt me to deſert my Swiſs reſidence, which unites almoſt every advantage that riches can give, or fancy deſire. With regard to my future literary plans, I can add nothing to what you will ſoon read in my Preface. But an hour's converſation with you, would allow me to explain ſome viſionary deſigns which ſometimes float in my mind; and, if I ſhould ever form any ſerious reſolution of labours, I would previouſly, though by the imperfect mode of a letter, conſult you on the propriety and merit of any new undertakings. I am, with great regard,

Dear Sir,
Moſt faithfully yours,

E. GIBBON.

NOTE G. p. 137.

As Dr. Robertſon received particular ſatisfaction from the approbation of the gentleman whoſe geographical reſearches ſuggeſted the firſt idea of this Diſquiſition, I flatter myſelf that no apology is neceſſary for the liberty I take in quoting a ſhort Extract from one of his letters.

From Major RENNELL *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

London, 2d July, 1791.

* * * After reading your Book twice, I may with truth ſay, that I was never more inſtructed or amuſed than by the peruſal of it; for although a great part of its ſubject had long been revolving in my mind, yet I had not been able to concentrate the matter in the manner you have done, or to make the different parts bear on each other.

The ſubject of the Appendix was what intereſted the public greatly; and was only to be acquired (if at all) by the ſtudy or peruſal of a great number of different tracts; a taſk not to be accompliſhed by ordinary readers.

It gives me unfeigned pleaſure to have been the inſtrument of ſuggeſting ſuch a taſk to you; and I ſhall reflect with pleaſure, during my life, that I ſhall travel down to poſterity with you; you, in your place, in the *great road* of Hiſtory; whilſt I keep the *ſide-path* of Geography. Since I underſtood the ſubject, I have ever thought, that the beſt hiſtorian is the beſt geographer; and if hiſtorians would direct a proper perſon, ſkilled in the principles of geography, to *embody* (as I may ſay) their ideas for them, the hiſtorian

h ſtorian would find himſelf better ſerved, than b/ relying on thoſe who may properly be ſtyled *map-makers*. For after all, whence does the geographer derive his materials but from the labours of the hiſtorian? * * *

NOTE H. p. 156.

SINCE theſe remarks on Dr. Robertſon's ſtyle were written, I have met with ſome critical reflections on the ſame ſubject by Mr. Burke, too honourable for Dr. Robertſon to be ſuppreſſed in this publication, although, in ſome particulars, they do not coincide with the opinion I have preſumed to ſtate †.

"There is a ſtyle," (ſays Mr. Burke, in a letter addreſſed to Mr. Murphy on his Tranſlation of Tacitus,) "which daily gains ground "amongſt us, which I ſhould be ſorry to ſee "further advanced by a writer of your juſt "reputation. The tendency of the mode to "which I allude is, to eſtabliſh two very "different idioms amongſt us, and to introduce

† It is proper for me to mention, that I have no authority for the authenticity of the following paſſage but that of a London newſpaper, in which it appeared ſome years ago. I do not find, however, that it has been ever called in queſtion.

 "a marked

" a marked diſtinction between the Engliſh that
" is written and the Engliſh that is ſpoken.
" This practice, if grown a little more general,
" would confirm this diſtemper, ſuch I muſt
" think it, in our lauguage, and perhaps ren-
" der it incurable.

" From this feigned manner of *falſetto*, as I
" think the muſicians call ſomething of the ſame
" ſort in ſinging, no one modern Hiſtorian,
" Robertſon only excepted, is perfectly free. It
" is aſſumed, I know, to give dignity and variety
" to the ſtyle. But whatever ſucceſs the attempt
" may ſometimes have, it is always obtained at
" the expence of purity, and of the graces that
" are natural and appropriate to our language.
" It is true that when the exigence calls for
" auxiliaries of all ſorts, and common language
" becomes unequal to the demands of extraor-
" dinary thoughts, ſomething ought to be con-
" ceded to the neceſſities which make 'ambition
" virtue.' But the allowances to neceſſities
" ought not to grow into a practice. Thoſe
" portents and prodigies ought not to grow too
" common. If you have, here and there (much
" more rarely, however, than others of great
" and not unmerited fame) fallen into an error,
" which is not that of the dull or careleſs, you
" have an Author who is himſelf guilty, in his

" own

" own tongue, of the ſame fault, in a very high " degree. No author thinks more deeply, or " paints more ſtrongly; but he ſeldom or ever " expreſſes himſelf naturally. It is plain, that " comparing him with Plautus and Terence, or " the beautiful fragments of Publius Syrus, he " did not write the language of good converſa- " tion. Cicero is much nearer to it. Tacitus, " and the writers of his time, have fallen into " that vice, by aiming at a poetical ſtyle. It " is true, that eloquence in both modes of " rhetorick is fundamentally the ſame; but the " manner of handling it is totally different, even " where words and phraſes may be transferred " from the one of theſe departments of writing " to the other."

For this encomium on Dr. Robertſon's ſtyle when conſidered in contraſt with that of Mr. Gibbon, (to whom it is probable that Mr. Burke's ſtrictures more particularly refer,) there is unqueſtionably a very ſolid foundation; but in eſtimating the merits of the former as an Engliſh Writer, I muſt acknowledge that I ſhould never have thought of ſingling out among his characteriſtical excellences, an approach to the language of good converſation. It is indeed ſurpriſing, when we attend to the elevation of that tone which he uniformly ſuſtains, how very

ſeldom his turn of expreſſion can be cenſured as unnatural or affected. The graces of his compoſition, however, although great and various, are by no means thoſe which are *appropriate to our language;* and, in fact, he knew too well the extent and the limits of his own powers to attempt them. Accordingly he has aimed at perfections of a ſtill higher order, the effect of which is ſcarcely diminiſhed, when we contemplate them through the medium of a foreign tranſlation.

Lord Cheſterfield's judgment with reſpect to Dr. Robertſon, while it is equally flattering with that of Mr. Burke, appears to me more preciſe and juſt. "There is a Hiſtory lately come out, "of the reign of Mary Queen of Scots and her "ſon King James, written by one Robertſon a "Scotchman, which for *clearneſs*, *purity*, and "*dignity*, I will not ſcruple to compare with the "beſt Hiſtorians extant, not excepting Davila, "Guicciardini, and perhaps Livy."

May I be permitted to remark, that in the oppoſite extreme to that fault which Mr. Burke has here ſo juſtly cenſured, there is another originating in too cloſe an adherence to what he recommends as the model of good writing, the eaſe and familiarity of colloquial diſcourſe. In the productions of his more advanced years, he has occaſionally fallen into it himſelf, and

has

has ſanctioned it by his example, in the numerous herd of his imitators, who are incapable of atoning for it, by copying the exquiſite and inimitable beauties which abound in his compoſitions. For my own part, I can much more eaſily reconcile myſelf, in a grave and dignified argument, to the *dulcia vitia* of Tacitus and of Gibbon, than to that affectation of *cant* words and alluſions which ſo often debaſes Mr. Burke's eloquence, and which was long ago ſtigmatized by Swift as "the moſt ruinous of all the cor-" ruptions of a language."

NOTE I. p. 161.

" THE mixture of Eccleſiaſtical and Lay-' members in the Church Courts is attended " with the happieſt effects. It corrects that *eſprit* " *de corps* which is apt to prevail in all aſſemblies " of profeſſional men. It affords the principal " Nobility and Gentry of Scotland an oppor-" tunity of obtaining a ſeat in the General " Aſſembly when any intereſting object calls for " their attendance; and although in the factious " and troubleſome times which our anceſtors " ſaw, the General Aſſembly, by means of this " mixture, became a ſcene of political debate, " this accidental evil is counterbalanced by

" permanent

" permanent good: for the preſence of thoſe " lay-members of high rank, whoſe names are " uſually found upon the Roll of the Aſſembly, " has a powerful influence in maintaining that " connection between Church and State which " is neceſſary for the peace, ſecurity, and welfare " of both." *

NOTE K. p. 171.

THE paper referred to in the Text is entitled " Reaſons of Diſſent from the Judgement and " Reſolution of the Commiſſion, March 11, " 1752, reſolving to inflict no Cenſure on the " Preſbytery of Dumfermline for their Diſobe- " dience in relation to the Settlement of Inver- " keithing." It is ſubſcribed by Dr. Robertſon, Dr. Blair, Mr. John Home, and a few of their friends. I ſhall ſubjoin the two firſt Articles

1. " BECAUSE we conceive this ſentence " of the Commiſſion to be inconſiſtent with the " nature and firſt principles of ſociety. When " men are conſidered as individuals, we acknow- " ledge that they have no guide but their own " underſtanding, and no judge but their own " conſcience. But we hold it for an undeniable

* MS. of Dr. Hill.

" principle,

" principle, that as members of ſociety, they are
" bound in many inſtances to follow the judg-
" ment of the ſociety. By joining together in
" ſociety, we enjoy many advantages, which we
" could neither purchaſe nor ſecure in a diſ-
" united ſtate. In conſideration of theſe, we
" conſent that regulations for public order ſhall
" be eſtabliſhed; not by the private fancy of
" every individual, but by the judgment of the
" majority, or of thoſe with whom the ſociety
" has conſented to intruſt the legiſlative power.
" Their judgment muſt neceſſarily be abſolute
" and final, and their deciſions received as the
" voice and inſtruction of the whole. In a
" numerous ſociety it ſeldom happens that all
" the members think uniformly concerning the
" wiſdom and expedience of any public regula-
" tion; but no ſooner is that regulation enacted,
" than private judgment is ſo far ſuperſeded that
" even they who diſapprove it, are notwithſtand-
" ing bound to obey it, and to put it in execution
" if required; unleſs in a caſe of ſuch groſs
" iniquity and manifeſt violation of the original
" deſign of the ſociety as juſtifies reſiſtance to
" the ſupreme power, and makes it better to
" have the ſociety diſſolved than to ſubmit to
" eſtabliſhed iniquity. Such extraordinary caſes
" we can eaſily conceive there may be, as will

" give

" give any man a juſt title to ſeek the diſſo-
" lution of the ſociety to which he belongs, or
" at leaſt will fully juſtify his withdrawing from
" it. But as long as he continues in it, pro-
" feſſes regard for it, and reaps the emoluments
" of it, if he refuſes to obey its laws, he ma-
" nifeſtly acts both a diſorderly and diſhoneſt
" part: he lays claim to the privileges of the
" ſociety while he contemns the authority of it;
" and by all principles of equity and reaſon is
" juſtly ſubjected to its cenſures. They who
" maintain that ſuch diſobedience deſerves no
" cenſure, maintain, in effect, that there ſhould
" be no ſuch thing as government and order.
" They deny thoſe firſt principles by which men
" are united in ſociety; and endeavour to
" eſtabliſh ſuch maxims, as will juſtify not only
" licentiouſneſs in eccleſiaſtical, but rebellion
" and diſorder in civil government. And there-
" fore, as the Reverend Commiſſion have by
" their ſentence declared, that diſobedience to
" the ſupreme judicature of the Church neither
" infers guilt, nor deſerves cenſure; as they
" have ſurrendered a right eſſential to the nature
" and ſubſiſtence of every ſociety; as they have
" (ſo far as lay in them) betrayed the privileges
" and deſerted the orders of the conſtitution;
" we could not have acted a dutiful part to the
" Church,

" Church, nor a ſafe one to ourſelves, unleſs " we had diſſented from this ſentence; and " craved liberty to repreſent to this venerable " Aſſembly that this deed appears to us to be " manifeſtly beyond the powers of a Com- " miſſion.

2. " Becauſe this ſentence of the Commiſſion " as it is ſubverſive of ſociety in general, ſo, in " our judgments, it is abſolutely inconſiſtent " with the nature and preſervation of eccleſi- " aſtical ſociety in particular.—The characters " which we bear, of Miniſters and Elders of " this Church, render it unneceſſary for us to " declare, that we join with all Proteſtants in " acknowledging the Lord Jeſus Chriſt to be " the only King and Head of his Church. We " admit that the church is not merely a volun- " tary ſociety, but a ſociety founded by the laws " of Chriſt. But to his laws we conceive it to " be moſt agreeable, that order ſhould be pre- " ſerved in the external adminiſtration of the " affairs of the church. And we contend, in " the words of our *Confeſſion of Faith*, 'That " there are ſome circumſtances concerning the " worſhip of God, and the government of the " church, common to human actions and ſo- " cieties, which are to be ordered by the light " of nature and Chriſtian prudence according

" to

" to the general rules of the word, which are " always to be obſerved.' It is very evident " that unleſs the church were ſupported by " continual miracles, and a perpetual and ex- " traordinary interpoſition of Heaven, it can " only ſubſiſt by thoſe fundamental maxims by " which all ſociety ſubſiſts. A kingdom divided " againſt itſelf cannot ſtand. There can be no " union, and by conſequence there can be no " ſociety, where there is no ſubordination; " and therefore ſince miracles are now ceaſed, " we do conceive that no church or eccleſiaſti- " cal ſociety can exiſt without obedience " required from its members, and inforced by " proper ſanctions. Accordingly, there never " was any regularly conſtituted church in the " Chriſtian world, where there was not at the " ſame time ſome exerciſe of diſcipline and " authority. It has indeed been aſſerted, 'That " the cenſures of the church are never to be " inflicted, but upon open tranſgreſſors of the " laws of Chriſt himſelf; and that no man is to " be conſtructed an open tranſgreſſor of the laws " of Chriſt for not obeying the commands of " any aſſembly of fallible men, when he declares " it was a conſcientious regard to the will of " Chriſt that led him to this diſobedience.'— " This is called aſſerting liberty of conſcience,

" and

" and ſupporting the rights of private judg-
" ment; and upon ſuch reaſonings the Re-
" verend Commiſſion proceeded in coming to
" that deciſion of which we now complain. But
" we think ourſelves called on to ſay, and we
" ſay it with concern, that ſuch principles as
" theſe appear to us calculated to eſtabliſh the
" moſt extravagant maxims of Independency,
" and to overthrow from the very foundation
" that happy eccleſiaſtical conſtitution which
" we glory in being members of, and which we
" are reſolved to ſupport. For upon theſe
" principles, no church whatever, conſiſting, as
" every church on earth muſt conſiſt, of *fallible*
" men, has right to inflict any cenſure on any
" diſobedient perſon. Let ſuch perſon only
" think fit boldly to uſe the name of conſcience,
" and ſheltered under its authority, he acquires
" at once a right of doing whatſoever is good in
" his own eyes. If anarchy and confuſion fol-
" low, as no doubt they will, there is, it ſeems,
" no remedy. We are ſorry to ſay, that brethren
" who profeſs to hold ſuch principles, ought to
" have acted more conſiſtently with them, and
" not to have joined themſelves to any church
" till once they had found out an aſſembly of
" *infallible* men, to whoſe authority they would
" have acknowledged ſubmiſſion to be due.

" We

" We allow to the right of private judgment " all the extent and obligation that reaſon or " religion require; but we can never admit, " that any man's private judgment gives him " a right to diſturb, with impunity, all public " order. We hold, that as every man has a " right to judge for himſelf in religious matters, " ſo every church, or ſociety of Chriſtians, has " a right to judge for itſelf, what method of " external adminiſtration is moſt agreeable to " the laws of Chriſt; and no man ought to " become a member of that church, who is not " reſolved to conform himſelf to its adminiſtra- " tion. We think it very conſiſtent with con- " ſcience for inferiors to diſapprove, in their " own mind, of a judgment given by a ſuperior " court, and yet to put that judgment in " execution as the deed of their ſuperiors for " conſcience ſake; ſeeing we humbly conceive " it is, or ought to be, a matter of conſcience " with every member of the church, to ſupport " the authority of that church to which he " belongs. Church-cenſures are declared by " our *Confeſſion of Faith* to be 'neceſſary, not " only for gaining and reclaiming the offending " brethren, but alſo for deterring of others " from the like offences, and for purging out the " leaven which might leaven the whole lump.'

" What

" What theſe cenſures are, and what the crimes " againſt which they are directed, is eaſily to " be learned from the conſtitution of every " church, and whoever believes its cenſure to " be too ſevere, or its known orders and laws " to be in any reſpect iniquitous, ſo that he " cannot in conſcience comply with them, ought " to beware of involving himſelf in ſin by enter- " ing into it; or if he hath raſhly joined himſelf, " he is bound, as an honeſt man and a good " Chriſtian, to withdraw, and to keep his con- " ſcience clear and undefiled. But on the other " hand, if a judicature, which is appointed to be " the guardian and defender of the laws and " orders of the ſociety, ſhall abſolve them who " break their laws, from all cenſure, and by " ſuch a deed encourage and invite to future " diſobedience, we conceive it will be found, " that they have exceeded their powers, and " betrayed their truſt in the moſt eſſential " inſtance."

* * * * *

NOTE L. p. 173.

" Dr. ROBERTSON's ſyſtem with reſpect " to the Law of Patronage proceeded on the " following principles: That as patronage is the

" law of the land, the courts of a national " church eſtabliſhed and protected by law, and " all the individual miniſters of that church are " bound, in as far as it depends upon exertions " ariſing from the duties of their place, to give " it effect: that every oppoſition to the legal " rights of patrons tends to diminiſh that reve- " rence which all the ſubjects of a free govern- " ment ought to entertain for the law; and " that it is dangerous to accuſtom the people to " think that they can elude the law or defeat its " operation, becauſe ſucceſs in one inſtance leads " to greater licentiouſneſs. Upon theſe prin- " ciples Dr. Robertſon thought that the church " courts betrayed their duty to the conſtitution, " when the ſpirit of their deciſions, or negli- " gence in enforcing obedience to their orders, " created unneceſſary obſtacles to the exerciſe " of the right of patronage, and foſtered in " the minds of the people the falſe idea that " they have a right to chuſe their own miniſters, " or even a negative upon the nomination of " the patron. He was well aware that the ſub- " jects of Great Britain are entitled to apply in " a conſtitutional manner for the repeal of every " law, which they conſider as a grievance. But " while he ſupported patronage as the exiſting " law, he regarded it alſo as the moſt expedient

" method

" method of ſettling vacant pariſhes. It did not
" appear to him that the people are competent
" judges of thoſe qualities which a miniſter
" ſhould poſſeſs in order to be a uſeful teacher
" either of the doctrines of pure religion, or of
" the precepts of ſound morality. He ſuſpected
" that if the probationers of the church were
" taught to conſider their ſucceſs in obtaining
" a ſettlement as depending upon a popular
" election, many of them would be tempted to
" adopt a manner of preaching more calculated
" to pleaſe the people than to promote their
" edification. He thought that there is little
" danger to be apprehended from the abuſe of
" the law of patronage, becauſe the preſentee
" muſt be choſen from amongſt thoſe whom
" the church itſelf had approved of, and had
" licenſed as qualified for the office of the
" miniſtry; becauſe a preſentee cannot be ad-
" mitted to the benefice, if any relevant charge
" as to his life or doctrine be proved againſt
" him: and becauſe, after ordination and
" admiſſion, he is liable to be depoſed for
" improper conduct. When every poſſible
" precaution is thus taken to prevent unqua-
" lified perſons from being introduced into the
" church, or thoſe who afterwards prove un-
" worthy from remaining in it, the occaſional

" evils and abuſes from which no human inſti-
" tution is exempted, could not, in the opinion
" of Dr. Robertſon, be fairly urged as reaſons
" againſt the law of patronage."

* * * * *

" Such was the ſyſtem which, in conjunction
" with the friend of his youth, Dr. Robertſon
" ably ſupported for thirty years after his firſt
" appearance in the General Aſſembly. In
" ſpeaking upon a particular queſtion, he ſome-
" times gave the outlines of this ſyſtem for the
" ſatisfaction of the Houſe in general, and the
" inſtruction of the younger members. The
" deciſions which for a long courſe of years he
" dictated, form a common law of the church in
" which the ſyſtem is unfolded. His converſa-
" tion imprinted upon the minds of thoſe who
" were admitted to it during the courſe of the
" Aſſembly, the principles which pervaded his
" deciſions: and thus were diffuſed throughout
" the church the rational and conſiſtent ideas
" of Preſbyterian government upon which he
" and his friends uniformly acted.

" Theſe ideas continue to direct the General
" Aſſemblies of the Church of Scotland. For
" although it is not likely that any member of
" that Houſe will ever poſſeſs the unrivalled
" undiſputed influence with his brethren to

" which

" which peculiar advantages of character and " ſituation conducted Dr. Robertſon, his prin- " ciples are ſo thoroughly underſtood, and ſo " cordially approved by the great majority of " the Church of Scotland, that by means of " that attention to the buſineſs and forms of " the Houſe which is paid by ſome of his early " friends who yet ſurvive, and by a ſucceſſion " of younger men trained in his ſchool, the " Eccleſiaſtical affairs of Scotland proceed on " the ſame orderly ſyſtematical plan which was " firſt introduced by the ability, the prudence, " the firmneſs, the candour, and moderation " which he diſplayed upon every occaſion."

NOTE M. p. 187.

A FEW particulars, " in addition to Dr. " Erſkine's funeral ſermon on the death of " Dr. Robertſon," have been kindly communicated to me by my friend the Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Bart. The teſtimony which they contain to Dr. Robertſon's merits as an eccleſiaſtical leader will have no ſmall weight with thoſe who are acquainted with the worth and the talents of the Writer.

" In mentioning the character of Dr. Robert- " ſon as a leader of the prevailing party in the

" church, there is a circumſtance which ought
" not to be omitted, by which he diſtinguiſhed
" himſelf from all his predeceſſors who had held
" the ſame ſituation. Before his time, thoſe of
" the clergy who pretended to guide the deli-
" berations of the General Aſſembly, derived
" the chief part of their influence from their
" connection with the men who had the ma-
" nagement of Scots affairs. They allowed
" themſelves to receive inſtructions from them,
" and even from thoſe who acted under them.
" They looked up to them as their patrons,
" and ranged themſelves with their dependants.
" Their influence, of conſequence, ſubſiſted no
" longer than the powers from which it was de-
" rived. A change in the management of Scots
" affairs either left the prevailing party in the
" church without their leaders, or obliged their
" leaders to ſubmit to the meanneſs of receiving
" inſtructions from other patrons.—Dr. Robert-
" ſon, from the beginning, diſengaged himſelf
" completely from a dependance which was
" never reſpectable, and to which he felt him-
" ſelf ſuperior. He had the countenance of
" men in power; but he received it as a man
" who judged for himſelf, and whoſe influence
" was his own. The political changes of his
" time did not affect his ſituation. The dif-

" ferent

" ferent men who had the management of Scots " affairs uniformly co-operated with him—but " though they aſſiſted him, they looked up to " *his perſonal influence* in the church, which no " man in the country believed to be derived " from *them*.

" Thoſe who differed moſt in opinion with " Dr. Robertſon, but who are ſincerely attached " to the intereſts and to the integrity of the " church, muſt allow this conduct to have " been both reſpectable and meritorious. It " will always reflect honour on his memory, and " has left an important leſſon to his ſucceſſors.

" It is not uſeleſs to mention his fairneſs in " the debates of the Aſſembly. Whether his " opponents were convinced by his arguments " or not, they were commonly ſenſible of the " candour with which he ſtated them, and of " the perſonal reſpect with which they were " treated by him. And though the conceſ- " ſions which he was always ready to make to " them when they did not affect the ſubſtance " of his own argument, might be imputed to " political ſagacity as well as to candour, there " was uniformly an appearance of candour in " his manner, by which he preſerved their good " opinion, and which greatly contributed to " extend his influence among his own friends.

" Like all popular meetings, the General Aſſem-
" bly ſometimes contains individuals, who have
" more acuteneſs than delicacy, and who allow
" themſelves to eke out their arguments by
" rude and perſonal invectives. Dr. Robertſon
" had a ſuperior addreſs in replying to men
" of this caſt, without adopting their aſperity,
" and often made them feel the abſurdity of
" the perſonal attack, by the attention which
" he ſeemed to beſtow on their argument.

" It ſhould be mentioned alſo, that Dr. Ro-
" bertſon's early example, and his influence in
" more advanced life, chiefly contributed to ren-
" der the debates in the Aſſembly intereſting and
" reſpectable, by bringing forward all the men
" of abilities to their natural ſhare of the public
" buſineſs. Before his time, this had been
" almoſt entirely in the hands of the older
" members of the church, who were the only
" perſons that were thought entitled to deliver
" their opinions, and whoſe influence was often
" derived more from their age than from their
" judgment or their talents.

" I do not know whether the reaſons, which
" led Dr. Robertſon to retire from the Aſſembly
" after 1780, have ever been thoroughly under-
" ſtood.—They were not ſuggeſted by his age,
" for he was then only fifty-nine; nor by any
" diminution

" diminution of his influence, for, in the appre-
" henſion of the public, it was at that time as
" great as it had ever been. It is very pro-
" bable that he anticipated a time when a
" new leader might come forward; and thought
" it better to retire while his influence was
" undiminiſhed, than to run the riſque, in the
" end of his life, of a ſtruggle with younger
" men, who might be as ſucceſsful as he had
" been.—But I recollect diſtinctly, what he
" once ſaid to myſelf on the ſubject, which I am
" perſuaded he repeated to many others. He
" had been often reproached by the more vio-
" lent men of his party for not adopting ſtronger
" meaſures, than he thought either right or
" wiſe. He had yielded to them many points
" againſt his own judgment; but they were
" not ſatisfied: he was plagued with letters of
" reproach and remonſtrance on a variety of
" ſubjects, and he complained of the petulance
" and acrimony with which they were written.
" But there was one ſubject which for ſome
" years before he retired had become parti-
" cularly uneaſy to him, and on which he ſaid
" he had been more urged and fretted than
" on all the other ſubjects of contention in the
" church; the ſcheme into which many of his
" friends entered zealouſly for aboliſhing ſub-
" ſcription

" ſcription to the Confeſſion of Faith and " Formula. This he expreſsly declared his " reſolution to reſiſt in every form.—But he " was ſo much teazed with remonſtrances on " the ſubject, that he mentioned them as hav- " ing at leaſt *confirmed* his reſolution to retire. " He claimed to himſelf the merit of having " prevented this controverſy from being agitated " in the Aſſemblies; but warned me as a young " man that it would become the chief contro- " verſy of my time, and ſtated to me the " reaſons which had determined his opinion on " the ſubject. The converſation was probably " about 1782 or 1783.—I have a diſtinct recol- " lection of it; though I have no idea that his " prediction will be verified, as the controverſy " ſeems to be more aſleep now than it was a " few years ago."

NOTE N. p. 198.

THE zeal with which Dr. Robertſon promoted the execution of the ſtatiſtical accounts of Scotland has been publickly acknowledged by Sir John Sinclair; and I have frequently heard Dr. Robertſon expreſs, in the ſtrongeſt terms, his ſenſe of the obligations which the country lay under to the projector and conductor of that great national work; and the pride with which he

he reflected on the monument which was thus raiſed to the information and liberality of the Scottiſh clergy.

From the following letters it would appear, that he had contributed ſome aid to the exertions of thoſe who ſo honourably diſtinguiſhed themſelves a few years ago in the parliamentary diſcuſſions about the African Trade. His own ſentiments on that ſubject were eloquently ſtated thirty years before, in the only ſermon which he ever publiſhed.

From Mr. WILBERFORCE *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Sir, London, 25th January, 1788.

I SHALL not begin by apologizing to you for now preſuming to intrude myſelf on you without introduction, but with condemning myſelf for not having done it ſooner. The ſubject which is the occaſion of my troubling you with this letter, that of the Slave Trade, is one on which I am perſuaded our ſentiments coincide, and in calling forth your good offices in ſuch a cauſe I truſt you will think that whilſt I incur I alſo beſtow an obligation.—What I have to requeſt is, that you will have the goodneſs to communicate to me ſuch facts and obſervations as may be uſeful to me in the important taſk I have

have undertaken, of bringing forward into parliamentary diſcuſſion, the ſituation of that much injured part of the ſpecies, the poor Negroes: in common with the reſt of my countrymen I have to complain, that I am under the neceſſity of betaking myſelf directly to you for the information I ſolicit: an application to my bookſeller ought to have ſupplied it: but if there be ſome ground of charge againſt you for having failed in your engagements to the public in this particular, it is the rather incumbent on you to attend to the claim of an individual; conſider it as a ſort of expiation for your offence, and rejoice if ſo weighty a crime comes off with ſo light a puniſhment.—Though the main object I have in view, is the prevention of all further exports of Slaves from Africa, yet their ſtate in the Weſt Indies, and the moſt practicable mode of meliorating it, the effects that might follow from this change of ſyſtem in all its extended and complicated connections and relations, both in Africa and the Weſtern World, and this not only in our own caſe but in thoſe of other European nations, who might be induced to follow our example; all theſe come into queſtion, and conſtitute a burthen too heavy for one of powers like mine to bear, without my calling for help where it may be ſo abundantly afforded:

afforded: let me add alſo, that I ſhould be extremely thankful for any intelligence reſpecting the inſtitutions of the Jeſuits in Paraguay, which, it has long ſtruck me, might prove a moſt uſeful ſubject of inveſtigation to any one who would form a plan for the civilization of Africa.—Allow me to add, that I ſhall wait to hear from you with anxiety, becauſe the buſineſs muſt be brought into the Houſe ſoon after the meeting.—I will not waſte your valuable time by excuſes for this letter, if they are neceſſary, but once more I will venture to aſſure myſelf that you will not think them ſo.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. WILBERFORCE.

From Mr. WILBERFORCE *to* Dr. ROBERTSON.

Sir, Hampſtead, 20th February, 1788.

I HAVE been honoured with your packets by the poſt, as well as with your Sermon, and return you my ſincereſt thanks for your very obliging attention to my requeſt; I am fully ſenſible to the value of the favourable ſentiments you expreſs concerning me, and as one conceſſion always produces a new demand, perhaps you will not be ſurprized at my now taking the liberty of intimating a hope that I may conſider what has paſſed

paſſed as conſtituting a ſort of acquaintance between us, which it will give me particular pleaſure to indulge an expectation of cultivating, when any opportunity ſhall allow.

I remain, with great reſpect and eſteem, &c.

W. WILBERFORCE.

NOTE O. p. 204.

DR. ROBERTSON's ſecond ſon is now Lieutenant Colonel of the 92d regiment. His name is repeatedly mentioned with diſtinction in the Hiſtory of Lord Cornwallis's military operations in India; particularly in the general orders after the ſiege of Nundydroog, where he commanded in the European flank company that led the aſſault. The following paragraph from Colonel Dirom's Narrative contains a teſtimony to his conduct on this occaſion, which would have been grateful to the feelings of his father had he ſurvived to peruſe it.

" The carnage which muſt have enſued in " clearing the fort of the enemy, was prevented " partly by a number of the garriſon eſcaping " by ropes and ladders over a low part of the " wall; but chiefly by the exertions of Captain " Robertſon; who ſeeing the place was car-

" ried,

" ried, turned all his attention to preſerving " order, and preventing the unneceſſary effu- " ſion of blood. To his humanity the bukſhey " and killedar owed their lives; and of the " garriſon there were only about forty men " killed and wounded."

Dr. Robertſon's youngeſt ſon is Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment ſerving in Ceylon, and Deputy Adjutant-General of his Majeſty's forces in that iſland. An account of Ceylon, which he has communicated in manuſcript to ſome of his friends, is ſaid to do great honour to his abilities.

NOTE P. p. 208.

THIS requeſt was conveyed to Dr. Robertſon by Mr. Dalzel, and was received by him with much ſenſibility, as a mark of the eſteem and approbation of a Society over which he had preſided for thirty years.

I neglected to mention in a former note the Latin Diſcourſes which Dr. Robertſon pronounced annually before the Univerſity, in compliance with the eſtabliſhed practice among his predeceſſors in office. The firſt of theſe was read on the third of February 1763. Its object was to recommend the ſtudy of claſſical learning; and it contained, among a variety of other ſplendid paſſages, a beautiful panegyric on the Stoical Philoſophy. His ſecond Diſcourſe

(9th of February 1764,) conſiſted chiefly of moral and literary obſervations, adapted to the particular circumſtances of youth. My friend Mr. Dalzel, who has lately peruſed theſe Latin manuſcripts with care, obſerves of this Oration, "that the ſtyle is uncommonly elegant and "impreſſive, and poſſeſſes all the diſtinguiſhing "characteriſtics of Dr. Robertſon's Engliſh com-"poſitions."

A third Diſcourſe was pronounced on February 14th, 1765; and a fourth on February 20th, 1766. The ſubject of both is the ſame; the queſtion concerning the comparative advantages of public and private education. The execution is ſuch as might be expected from the abilities of the Author, exerted on a topic on which he was ſo eminently fitted to decide, not only by his profeſſional ſituation and habits, but by an extenſive and diſcriminating knowledge of the world.

Theſe annual diſcourſes (which never failed to produce a ſtrong and happy impreſſion on the mind of his young hearers) he was compelled, after this period, to diſcontinue by his avocations as an Author, and by other engagements which he conceived to be of ſtill greater importance.—It is indeed aſtoniſhing that he was able to devote ſo much time as he did to his academical duties;

particu-

particularly when we conſider that all his works were at firſt committed to writing in his own hand, and that he ſeldom, if ever, attempted to dictate to an *amanuenſis*.—It may be gratifying to thoſe to whom the literary habits of authors are an object of curioſity to add, that his practice in compoſition was (according to his own ſtatement in a letter to Mr. Strahan,) "to finiſh as "near perfection as he was able, ſo that his "ſubſequent alterations were inconſiderable."

IT might be conſidered by ſome as a blameable omiſſion, if I were to overlook, in this Memoir, the marks of regard which Dr. Robertſon received from different literary Academies on the Continent. I have already taken notice of the honour conferred on him by the Royal Academy of Hiſtory at Madrid; but I forgot to mention, in the proper place, that in 1781, he was elected one of the Foreign Members of the Academy of Sciences at Padua; and in 1783, one of the Foreign Members of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Peterſburgh.

From the laſt of theſe cities, he was honoured with another very flattering diſtinction; the intelligence of which was conveyed to him by

his friend Dr. Rogerſon, in a letter from which the following paſſage is tranſcribed.

" Your Hiſtory of America was received and " peruſed by her Imperial Majeſty with ſingular " marks of approbation. All your hiſtorical pro- " ductions have been ever favourite parts of her " reading. Not long ago, doing me the honour " to converſe with me upon hiſtorical compoſi- " tion, ſhe mentioned you with particular diſ- " tinction, and with much admiration of that " ſagacity and diſcernment diſplayed by you in " painting the human mind and character, as " diverſified by the various cauſes that operated " upon it, in thoſe æras and ſtates of ſociety " which your ſubject led you to treat. She " aſſigned you the place of firſt model in that " ſpecies of compoſition. As to the Hiſtory of " Charles V. ſhe was pleaſed to add, *c'eſt le* " *compagnon conſtant de tous mes voyages; je ne* " *me laſſe jamais à le lire, & particulièrement le* " *premier volume.*"

" She then preſented a very handſome gold " enamelled ſnuff-box, richly ſet with diamonds, " ordering me to tranſmit it to you, and to de- " ſire your acceptance of it as a mark of her " eſteem, obſerving, at the ſame time, moſt " graciouſly, that a perſon whoſe labours had

" afforded her ſo much ſatisfaction, merited ſome " attention from her."

THE active part which Dr. Robertſon took in the foundation of the Society before which the foregoing Memoir was read, is ſo well known to all the members, that it did not appear neceſſary to recal it to their recollection. For the information of others, however, it may be proper to mention, that the firſt idea of this eſtabliſhment, and of the plan adopted in its formation, was ſuggeſted by him; and that, without his zealous co-operation, there is little probability that the deſign would ever have been carried into execution.

THE END.

ERRATUM.

Page 232. line 2. for 1776 read 1785.

Lately publiſhed,

New Editions of the following Works, written by Dr. ROBERTSON.

The Hiſtory of *Scotland* during the Reigns of Queen *Mary* and of King *James* VI. till his Acceſſion to the Crown of *England:* with a Review of the *Scottiſh* Hiſtory previous to that Period; and an Appendix, containing Original Papers. By *William Robertſon*, D. D. The Sixth Edition, 2 vols. 4to. 2l. 2s.

Another Edition, in 3 vols. 8vo. with the Life, 1l. 1s.

Another Edition, in one vol. 7s. 6d.

Another Edition, in 3 pocket vols. with new Plates; on fine Paper, 12s.; on common Paper 7s. 6d. ſewed.

The Hiſtory of the Reign of the Emperor *Charles* V. with a View of the Progreſs of Society in *Europe*, from the Subverſion of the *Roman* Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century. By the ſame. Embelliſhed with four Plates, elegantly engraved, 3 vols. 4to. 3l. 3s.

Another Edition, in 4 vols. 8vo. 1l. 8s.

Another Edition, in 4 pocket vols. with new Plates; on fine Paper 16s.; on common Paper 10s. ſewed.

An Hiſtorical Diſquiſition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of *India*, and the Progreſs of Trade with that Country prior to the Diſcovery of the *Cape of Good Hope*. By the ſame. 4to. 18s.

Another Edition, in one vol. 8vo. 8s.

Another Edition, in one pocket vol. on fine Paper, 5s. ſewed; on common Paper, 3s. 6d. ſewed.

The Hiſtory of *America*, Vols. I. and II. By the ſame. Illuſtrated with Maps, 2l. 10s.

Another Edition, in 4 vols. 8vo. 1l. 8s.

Another Edition, in 3 pocket vols. with new Plates; on fine Paper 15s.; on common Paper 10s. 6d. ſewed.

Two additional Chapters of the Hiſtory of America 4to. 7s. 6d. in boards; or 8vo. 5s. in boards.

Printed by A. Strahan,
Printers-Street, London.

00021169

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 21 October, 2015